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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

A MODEL FOR EFFECTIVE CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IN PLANNING: THE ALBERTA LAND USE FORUM

by

Ⓒ BRIAN P. HAYLEY

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND
RESEARCH IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
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DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY

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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled "Towards a Model of Effective Citizen Participation: The Alberta Land Use Forum," Submitted by Brian P. Hayley in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

Sept 1/77

ABSTRACT

The concept of citizen participation in planning is not a new one. It has had a fairly long and checkered career. It has, however, within the past ten years become a major factor in planning programs in many countries. It is this concept of citizen participation in planning that is examined in this thesis with the aim of producing an effective model for citizen participation programs.

The need for citizen participation is considered first. Is citizen participation just a popular catchword, a currently fashionable idea, or is it indeed a worthwhile and needed component of planning?

This thesis contends that it is indeed worthwhile and then goes on to examine the writings of others on the concept of what they feel constitutes effective participation. The result is a list of types of participation which are then compared with the procedures and results involved in many citizem participation examples from the United States, Britain and Canada.

What evolves out of all this is that this list of types is not an appropriate mechanism to gauge effectiveness of participation because there may be many intervening factors involved in any program that may negate the use of types as a gauge.

What evolves rather is a model of effective citizen participation that considers intervening factors; what ones have a significant effect on programs and what sort of model can be developed which can withstand the pressures of these intervening factors.

This thesis then, tests the model through the use of a portion of the citizen participation program carried out under the Alberta Land Use Forum. I was involved in carrying out the program in several study areas in and around the City of Edmonton and was able to note several factors contributing to or detracting from effective participation.

Conclusions are drawn about the usefulness of the model and changes needed in the model as a result of the test. This thesis concludes that this is an effective model and welcomes its use and refinement by others in future citizen participation programs.

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INTRODUCTION

Is it an impossible dream to secure effective citizen participation in planning? This question is continually asked by those of whom citizen participation is demanded and by those who demand it. The former (politicians and planners) ask it because they find it difficult to conceive of a decision-making process laced with the inefficiency associated with mass involvement. In pragmatic terms, politicians and planners, faced with demands for quick and efficient attention to the needs of citizens, find it difficult to deal with a concept which is founded on the introduction of citizens to the workings of the political scene before planning is even begun. The participation advocates, on the other hand, ask the question because of the barriers they face in participating. In ideological terms, participation is seen as good, as a basic right, and as both a psychological need and an efficient planning tool. To them, the concept is sound - having it accepted is the difficulty.

More recently, both are asking about the feasibility of citizen participation because of experience within a number of programs in North America and Britain. On the governmental side, the opportunities for citizen participation have often been provided in response to administrative problems in implementing decisions that had little or no citizen input in the first place. The citizens, however, may feel that the main reason for being offered the chance to participate is to secure better representation in the political arena. In other words, it may be that the decision-makers are merely looking for citizen sanction of predetermined decisions whereas citizens are looking for a part in formulating that decision. As a result, the outcomes of these programs seldom match the intentions of either the participation advocates or the powerholders. Effective participation attempts to reconcile these differences between agents' conceptions of citizen participation. Concomitantly, effective participation should also close the gap between expected and actual results of participation programs.

The history of citizen participation is checkered. From its unrecognized beginnings as a demand for government reforms in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, it emerged more obviously when citizens began demanding that they be part of this reform, that they be included in some way in decision-making. An early step in this direction was the adult-male franchise, followed by such reforms as the universal franchise and lower voting ages. Public hearings are another common device that were widely used before the end of the nineteenth century.

The first big opportunity for citizen participation (as it is now understood) came with the establishment of the Tennessee Valley Authority (T.V.A.) in the United States in 1933. An attempt was made there to overcome the difficulties of an increasingly centralized and bureaucratic national government system by allowing local opinions to influence decisions through local agencies. The T.V.A. program stimulated a general rise in the level of citizen awareness across North America. It also led to the realization that people's needs, in terms of social and economic benefits, as well as political efficacy, were not being met through the regular political processes.

THESIS RATIONALE AND PURPOSE

If the demand for citizen participation is a logical outcome of the above set of circumstances, it may seem unnecessary to ask, "Why citizen participation?" But, the question must be asked. Before we test the participation ideology in its practical settings, we must make sure that the present systems of governmental decision-making are inappropriate, and that citizen participation offers a demonstrably more democratic solution to decision-making problems.

At the same time, to accept the participation ideology does not automatically assure its practical success. There are many factors that may hinder its implementation, stemming either from the mode of participation that is employed or from a host of situational variables that can be expected to intervene between the ideal and the reality.

The question, "What is effective participation?" must therefore be evaluated first in terms of what the ideologists believe is appropriate, and then by comparison with the practical applications. That is, the subject of this thesis is not the ideology of participation per se, but the types of participation that are available and the methodologies by which they can be implemented. In effect, it will be argued that participation is basically good; the general issue to be examined is the conditions that are required to make it effective. Through an evaluation of citizen participation programs in various "democratic" countries at various levels of government, the most effective known means of introducing citizen participation into the present decision-making processes will be identified. The insights that are derived from this comparative evaluation will then provide the bases for constructing a model for effective citizen participation programs.

This thesis will not stop there, however. Just as other participation programs were an attempt to operationalize the ideology as framed by decision-makers in response to a demand by citizens for more representation, I too, am obliged to test the methodological model established here against a case study. This is drawn from the Alberta Land Use Forum, a program set up by the government of Alberta in 1973 to consider the land use concerns of the province's people, and to make recommendations for their solution.

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Like most programs which include a participation component, the Land Use Forum was not established as a test of the citizen participation ideology. Rather, it was set up to obtain reasonably reasoned comment from Albertans on land use concerns. Even the Rural Education and Development Association, the agency seconded by the Forum to carry out the participation part of the exercise (known as Operation Land Use), was most interested in obtaining tangible results as measured by the numbers of people involved and the number of briefs presented. However, comment on its own says nothing of how it was solicited. Reasoned as it may be, it may still reflect the opinions of a small, elite minority. Similarly, while it is an admirable ambition to obtain large numbers of participants in participation exercises, numbers alone do not determine the quality or the effectiveness of the participation. There may, for example, be excellent participation from some interest groups (who swell the total numbers of participants) but none at all from other groups whose needs and worries are just as vital to the decision-making process.

While the numbers of people and briefs are part of the tangible results, which may be deemed to be the main reason for participation in the first place, neither takes account of how well a population is able to work within a procedural framework of citizen participation or of the particular factors that may impede or advance this work, in what types of areas and at what level of involvement. Neither the

Alberta Land Use Forum nor the Rural Education and Development Association can be criticized for neglecting this dimension, for it was not a part of either group's mandate. Nonetheless, it is proper to examine the aims and procedures of the Forum and Operation Land Use in the context of what is already known about theory and methodology of citizen participation. Without this, it would be impossible to judge the effectiveness of Operation Land Use as a practical experiment in citizen participation.

What is to be tested, however, is the model design, not the case study. The object of the thesis is to evaluate a theoretical model in the context of a first-hand experience in a participation program; a program moreover, which has the special advantage of combining a variety of participatory experiences. The outcome will be either a vindication of the model, or the modification of those parts which seem less than adequate from the Operation Land Use experience.

DEFINITIONS

Before examining this concept in greater depth, it may be well to define some of the terms which will recur throughout the thesis:

- Citizen participation - a phenomenon whereby citizens become involved in political and economic processes to the extent that political systems take into account those interests not now represented and in such a way that the system itself will be altered so that those interests will be included in the decision-making process somehow.

It is not necessarily equal to citizen control. I shall, for the reader's relief, interchange this label with public involvement, citizen involvement, and public participation.

- representative democracy - as described by Aleshire: "The basic tenet of representative democracy is that power flows from the will of the people and is joined through a compact to create the will of the community. Devices are established and men elected to translate and discern that will and convert it into action."[1] This diminishes the need for citizen participation.
- participatory democracy - owing to the inadequacy which many believe representative democracy has demonstrated, there has been a cry for a wider range of interests to be included in the political process. Planning and politics, it is argued, should be conducted "with" people rather than "for" them, in a participatory rather than a representative mode. Aleshire considers it ironical to consider giving power to the people in a participatory sence when, in essence, it is basic to democracy that this right should prevail anyhow.[2]
- pluralities - the multiplicity of groups which express particular points of view or concerns on a specific issue. They are often viewed as contesting the right to voice and influence decisions

in their area of concern, sometimes to the exclusion of others.

- planning process - while some feel it is as simple as a policy clarification function, in the context of this thesis it will be regarded as a package of activities from the identification of community goals and needs through the generation and evaluation of alternative ways of attaining the goals, to the selection of a preferred alternative which is passed on to powerholders so that decisions can be made and implemented.
- effective - in relation to this thesis, the opportunity for citizen participation is considered effective if the methods used to reach decisions in a program have achieved the greatest possible degree of acceptance among the participants, those who are affected by the decisions and those who bear the financial costs.

A METHODOLOGICAL NOTE

Two additional notes need to be discussed for the reader's clearer understanding of the thesis.

The first and most important note is that of the difference between the terms "effective" and "success". In short, success of a program will be taken to mean that the goals of the program originators are met (e.g., poverty is alleviated in inner city areas through the Model Cities Program), while effectiveness, as outlined in the "Definitions", above, refers to the method in which those goals were achieved (e.g. with the greatest possible degree of acceptance by all those affected). Although a program that is considered effective is quite often also successful, the failure to achieve success does not always mean a program is ineffective. On the other hand, the failure of a program to be effective often results in success being thwarted by unhappy participants.

The second note refers to the use of the term "factors" in various areas of the thesis. "Factors" refers to circumstances, facts or influences contributing to a result (that result being either the effectiveness or, success or failure of a program). Early on in this thesis, factors are noted as they relate to successful or unsuccessful programs. Later on, they relate to the effectiveness of a program and are referred to as "intervening factors" (even though the term factor retains the same meaning).

NOTES AND REFERENCES - INTRODUCTION

1. R.A. Aleshire, "Power to the People: An Assessment of the Community Action and Model Cities Experience," Public Administration Review 32, special issue (1972), p. 429.

2. Ibid.

CHAPTER I

WHY CITIZEN PARTICIPATION?

"The demand for participation," writes Kasperson, "is born in the failures of the North American political system."[1] The first issue to be discussed here, then, is whether or not this system has really failed and, if so, whether participation is the appropriate response.

THE FAILURE OF REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACY

The Madisonian concept of democracy held that government would become the "restraining, balancing and accommodating machinery for processing interests."[2] These interests were the beliefs and desires of citizens who merged into temporary coalitions on specific issues but who never acquired any permanent dominance. In brief, democracy implied that interests were to be accommodated by a representative machinery, government. The concept has been described succinctly by March:

> In a pure theory of democracy, we assume that each citizen casts his vote for one of a set of candidates. The pure system implicitly assumes that the final step in a complex process by which all the possible coalitions of voters and all the possible policy proposals of candidates have, in some sense, been considered.[3]

The implication here is that the government would be formed from the best possible coalition of representatives to accommodate the issues.

The issues of local areas were not nearly as varied in Madison's time as they later became. Needs were basic, and if governments could accommodate these basic needs they probably fulfilled the wishes of most people. It was not too difficult to cope with the needs for basic services in keeping with the modest standards, technical limitations and smaller populations of the day. The idea of a "pure democracy" was more plausible. The possibility of a very wide range of issues, whose solution would conflict with the nature of democratic ideology, was not entertained.

However, as technical limitations and modest standards disappeared with an increase in population, a plethora of divergent interests emerged, quite often peculiar to a certain area or a certain class of people. A pluralistic society began to take shape. These pluralities often meant that all possible coalitions of voters and all policy proposals could not feasibly be considered. The machinery was not equipped to handle such a variety; representation and power were not widely enough dispersed to accommodate all the needs voiced. The basic tenets of a pure democracy were in jeoprady.

The emergence of the technological state appeared to relieve this alarm as the abundance of relatively divergent interests changed to a convergence among industry, labour and government. Although this alleviated the concern over the machinery of a pure democracy, it violated some of its initial assumptions. Pluralism was eroded, new barriers to participation arose and there emerged a stable "elite" in many social and political institutions. This elite is composed of those who possess a commitment to the "rules of the game"; they share high levels of information and well-developed skills of analysis, bargaining and manipulation. Kasperson feels that these skills tend to be concentrated in those at the top positions within the ever-converging interests.

It appears, too, that "...those elected are drawn overwhelmingly from the same sections of the population that have access to the planning and management of urban growth by the representation given to their associations [the elite]."[4] If the "rulers" are always an elite group, and this elite group maintains the top positions within the ever-converging interests, it is to be expected, as Loveday asserts, that,

> ...a more or less self-perpetuating oligarchy is ble to rule through the machine, suppressing dissent and criticism within it, ignoring opinions and interests outside it and denying citizens information about the management of their affairs.[5]

Elite political activity has become such a traditional part of our North American governmental process that the ability of the masses to contribute effectively is now doubted. But is man basically irrational, relatively uninformed, self-seeking and only sporadically active as much contemporary political writing would have us believe? Elitist theory claims that the masses lack "commitment to fundamental democratic values", which leads to fears of what may happen if this element of society becomes "too active."[6] The elitist view of the bottom of society is that "they are, at best, pliable, inert stuff, or, at worst, aroused, unruly creatures possessing an insatiable proclivity to undermine both culture and liberty."[7]

"Upper income people [the elite]...tend to be public regarding in that they", according to Banfield and Wilson, "frequently vote against their own self-interest and in favour of a broader public interest. The lower class, by contrast, tends to vote only for its private interests."[8]

> The citizenry then is divided into two groups: those who possess a commitment to the "rules of the game", high levels of information, and well-developed skills of bargaining, analysis and manipulation - the elites, and those who have little interest, information or ability and who remain as the 'apolitical clay' of the system - the masses....Democracy in this view, emphasizes the former and assigns the latter a limited passive role.[9]

At the same time, participation is a basic right of "pure democracy". According to Clague and Draper, citizen participation often equals access to resources. If the elite command a greater access to resources, it is only reasonable that they would attain relatively greater power in a democracy than those without this access.

Elitists then claim that, "Far from increasing public participation in the choice of candidates and issues, democracy is best served by reducing and simplifying those choices into a single elemental choice - that of principal elective officials."[10] Naturally, the elitist view of converging interests leaves little room for pluralities; the individual choice should be contained within the converging interest. It is no longer a question of what goals should be sought, but how to attain the goals chosen by elites. The individual's role is diminished to voting for one method or another - a simgle elemental choice - that of principal elective officials. According to Thayer, the elitist theory elevated apathy to the status of a primary value. It was assumed that many ciitzens - indeed, the majority - were incapable of defining their own best interests and, more to the point, did not behave rationally on many occasions.[11] Szablowski, in a document written for the Committee on Government Productivity in Ontario, concurs with Thayer in stating that, "The mainstream political culture does not stress equality of the legitimate access to public decisional units, it requires a low intensity of participative political commitment and places a light psychological burden on the citizen, consistent with the tenets of electoral policy."[12]

Contemporary elitist theories of participation have, in Kasperson's view, stripped man of the hopeful aspirations of classical political theory which vested power in the citizens. This clearly poses a threat to the democratic credo, and, taken to its extreme, could result in "the erosion of primary, face-to-face groups, which leads to mass anomie, alienation, loss of identification and apathy. In such a condition, people are susceptible to centralized and even totalitarian rule."[13]

Selznick, in his work, TVA and the Grass Roots, writes of the worldwide trend towards centralization and, concomitantly, the growing responsibilities of national governments. This trend towards centralization is a carryover from the convergence of interests brought on by the technological state mentioned earlier. Selznick writes;

> Centralization has been proceeding apace in all fields of human organization. Efficiency has been in this view, a rigorous leveler, erasing the diversity of individual enterprise and local control in the interests of large hierarchized units. This process operates not in governments alone but in many other fields as well, and always brings with it like and ambiguous consequences. In exchange for the benefits of order and coordination, initiative has been stifled and the power of decision - the indispensible element of democratic action - lodged in far-off places, remote from the beneficial influences of local areas which become merely the objects of bureaucratic manipulation.[14]

The "ambiguous consequences" are the disappearance of small units and local controls which, according to Lilienthal,

> ...lays bare the peculiar hazard of this modern world; the danger implicit in vast size, the disaster consequent when power is exercized far from those who feel the effect of that power, remote and alien to their lives.[15]

"In spite of our triumphs over time and space," which might lead us to discredit the claims of remoteness and alienation, Lilienthal goes on to say, "Washington is still remote from the average citizen and is sheltered from participation in his daily struggles."[16] The fundamental evil of centralization, that of a loss of political efficacy of individuals and the ignorance of concerns approaching anything less than national importance implies that the diversity within our general cultural and political unity cannot adequately be safeguarded when programs are formulated purely in national terms. At the same time, however, there is a need for an increasingly centralized government which concerns itself only with the most pervasive issues. As Lilienthal points out,

> ...it must be conceded that increasingly large powers ought to be entrusted to the federal government, for there are too many basic problems which cannot be handled through the organs of local control; such as unemployment, the demands of large interest groups organized on a national scale, the growth of centralized industry requiring the counterbalancing federal clout to meet them on equal terms....It must be recognized that there is a genuine peril if the powers of federal governments are hopelessly outdistanced by the trend to centralized control of industry and commerce and finance.[17]

The concentration of powers in the elite (who are deeply committed to the trend towards centralization) has not only had effects on national levels of government, where its consequences may not be unreasonable, but it has also tended to permeate to regional and local levels of government, where pluralities should but do not receive considered attention. The elitist concept of political activity fails to allow for "the realpolitik of the pluralistic society in which we live - that is, a society composed of social groups having different, competing and not infrequently conflicting sets of values."[18]

The political system with which we live in North America, then, does not fit the Madisonian concept of democracy in which all interests were to be considered and all citizens were to have a say in government. Rather, we have come to accept democracy in which visions of a general good, as perceived by the elites, prevail. Burke notes:

> Parliament [the political arena of the elites] is not a congress of ambassadors from different and hostile interests, which interests each must maintain as an agent advocate, against other agents and advocates, but parliament is a deliberative assembly of one nation, with one interest, that of the whole; where not local purposes, not local prejudices ought to guide, but the general good....[19]

This attention to the general good allows representatives to give more weight to what they consider their constituents' goals should be than to what the constituents themselves profess as concerns. They more often consider comprehensive and pervasive issues than those which are particular and local. In this way, representatives are only infrequently called to account as they are at liberty to ignore inappropriate ends and take account only of those deemed appropriate in determining the satisfaction "of the whole - this general good."[20]

Aleshire states that "the basic tenet or representative democracy is that power flows from the will of the people and is joined through a compact to create the will of the community. Devices are established and men elected to create and discern that will and convert it into action."[21] In practice, however, Kasperson feels that representative democreacy is a case of citizens having to turn power over to the elite and letting them rule. "The role of the mass citizenry," he says, "is restricted to accepting or rejecting the elites in periodic elections."[22]

One outcome of representative democracy as a political system is a sense of powerlessness on the part of the individual in having his more local concerns heard and accommodated. This is especially so as government becomes more centralized. This assertion is borne out by March's discusssion of the difficulties faced by urban leaders in entering winning national coalitions. March writes:

> A first straightforward prediction of the theory [our restricted democracy] is that a favoured coalition member will be a group having demands that are consistent with large numbers of other demands....The major demands made by citizens do not appear to have such politically attractive properties. In particular, they ask for large subsidies [that is, money]....A second straightforward prediction of the theory is that leaders who cannot influence votes are not favoured coalition members. As a political force, the urban ghetto suffers from its relatively small size.[23]

Just as the power of the masses has narrowed down to accepting or rejecting the elites in periodic elections, so too the decisions of the elites are made on the basis of increasingly narrow and specialized understandings of an issue. The understanding of and decisions on issues are obtained, say Starrs and Stewart, "...when some elements in a situation are deliberately set aside or held constant, when the analysis of the issue under consideration is not as comprehensive as even those involved admit to recognizing."[24]

A process of questioning has begun, its arrival clearly hastened by a growing recognition of strains in the old order, such as the unrepresented groups just mentioned. In addition, however, there is a new order emerging which promises to render the old one even more problematic. The rate of change in technological evolution is having significant impacts on our way of life. The Committee on Government Productivity for the Ontario Government says there is "...a need to fulfill the need left by the constant disruptions in this way of life [i.e., wider roads, new power lines, increased building development etc.] ."[25]

Another factor contributing to a new order is, as the Committee states, a major cultural shift. This shift consists of "youth cultures, counter cultures and other individualistic lifestyles in which there is an orientation to the here and now, a tendency to question and confront, an inner direction and autonomy, a concern for and acceptance of others, and a rejection of exclusively economic and technological goals."[26]

Woodsworth writes: "We are in a situation where our attitudes towards each other, our human goals, are truly subordinated by mechanical ends. I an taking the well recognized position that satisfying human relationships, or a 'quality of life' must be the end, and that economic and technological actions should be only means to it."[27] Starrs and Stewart, in the same document, state, while relegating technology to second order importance, that this process of questioning,

> ...has probably been furthered as well by the juxtaposition of our own culture against others in the same time and space which has been made possible through electronic communication. These influences are helping us to see ourselves more clearly and are revealing to us some of the dominant characteristics of our own society and which few among us have ever questioned. A society based on some highly specialized, fragmented and contradictory understandings is being exposed....we are beginning to move towards the reunification of persons in reunified committees....towards more person-centered understanding with potentially few inconsistencies.[28]

What we are really concerned with when we speak of pluralities of society is "the adequacy of the representation systems in local government....We are concerned that they have not fulfilled their functions in terms of representing the 'pluralisticness' in the society that ought to have been fully, or more fully, represented in the policy-making process."[29] This move to a convergent and elitist system of political activity has left a pattern of unrepresented groups as its legacy: the poor, the young and the old, blacks in the United States and non-Treaty Indians in Canada.

THE DEMAND FOR PARTICIPATION

As a greater diversity of issues arose, and citizens recognized that many issues could not be considered because of the workings of the political machine, they demanded alterations to the political process such that pluralities could be better represented. The formation of citizens' groups to storm city council chambers, marches on national headquarters to protest some legislation and even riots in resistance to legislation adverse to certain minority groups' wishes, are all evidence of this demand.

Other manifestations are seen in the proliferation of interest group activity and as Thayer feels, almost an emergent trend towards the creation of additional political parties, splinter parties, each the equivalent of a single-issue group. "Unless we begin to look for new models of governance," he says, "relatively stable two-party systems may fragment into historically unstable multi-party systems."[30]

Participatory Democracy

If, as implied by this discussion, the convergence of interests with the emergence of the techmological state has injured the application of a pure democracy, and if, indeed, the unchecked growth of centralization resulting from this convergence has left in its wake a growing list of unrepresented interests, it is to be expected that these interests will ultimately demand a reorganization of the political process to include them. The change demanded is one that has its roots in "pure democratic theory" but which takes into account the greater ability and desire of the masses to deal with issues today -- especially those of a more local nature. The demand is for consideration and understanding of individualistic (pluralistic) issues. "Decision-making on the basis of broad person-centered understandings," say Starrs and Stewart, "tend to be increasingly decentralized and increasingly participatory; the decision-making processes tend to be open and responsive to intervention."[31] Citizen participation is one of a number of issues which has been thrown into prominence by this expansion in our basic understandings and the related changes in our decision-making processes.

> By this [citizen participation] is meant the involvement of the individual in the design of policy processes of organizations to which he belongs as well as other policy processes which affect his or her future, regardless of formal memberships. Voting, in any form, does not meet any meaningful definition of participation and over time, electoral processes will diminish in importance.[32]

Apart from what it does for individual needs, Loveday says, "participation provides an independent means of ensuring that something important has not been overlooked, information is not misinterpreted and that information is not devised and analysed to suit a particular policy [that of the elites]."[33] Participatory democracy implies, then, the inclusion of a wider range of interests (pluralities) in the political process. If "pluralities" implies the many interest groups existing and contesting the right to a voice and an opportunity to work "with" the traditional power-holders, then participatory democracy, with its wider range of interests represented, lends itself more to working "with" rather than "for" people. This, in turn, implies participants in government.

Aleshire considers it ironical to consider giving power to people in a participatory sense when, in essence, the basic tenet of democracy gives this power anyhow.[34] Nonetheless, it seems clear that pure democracy has been displaced by the elitist theory of centralization. Participatory democracy, then, is an attempt to take account more fully of those pluralities which are not adequately represented in a centralized system. In the process, the basic tenets of a pure democracy may be reaffirmed and a system established which is better able to accommodate the variety of interest existing today.

To attempt to extend the present political system, to include all elements of society, is a mammoth task. Even more remote is the possibility of changing the present political system so that these pluralities are themselves guardians of emerging issues. One of the important issues to be discussed here, then, is whether citizen participation involves a redistribution of power within the present political process (as seen "from the steps of city hall") or a complete reform of politics (as seen from the indivifual point of view). If either is achieved, we might truly profess to have a system closer to a pure democracy than the representative democracy we now have -- a machinery capable of handling the more varied and greater number of issues confronting communities today.

Sherry Arnstein succinctly outlines her hopes for a participatory democracy in the concept of citizen participation:

> It is a categorical term for citizen power....It is the redistribution of power that enables the have-not citizens presently excluded from the political and economic processes to be deliberately included in the future...a means by which they can endure significant social reform which enables them to share in the benefits of the affluent society.[35]

Generally, citizen participation is looked at either as the process whereby political policy is implemented by citizens (implying that policy has already been set by more technically competent people), or the process whereby citizens are included in the creation of political values, as Kasperson, Arnstein and others would advocate. If politics is, as discussed earlier, the consideration and accomodation of issues, then possibly citizen participation will involve both processes.

Benefits of Citizen Participation for the Political System

Thus far, the discussion has been focussed on the relationship between participation and democratic theory, but the implications of participation for the present power-holders should also be examined. Will it make their jobs easier? Will it speed up the decision-making process or hinder it? While the consideration of new interests is still deemed the most important benefit of citizen participation, there are other consequences, negative as well as positive, that have to be weighted.

In terms of what it can do for the political system, citizen participation is seen as a countervailing, humanizing force to the increasing prominence and power of the elite. Professionals are now subject to evaluation by "new groups using different standards."[36] Participation may also check the influence of other powerful groups exerting pressure on government on behalf of their own interests, so that the ideal of a pure democracy, that of intergroup consensus, can be more easily attained. The results are also likely to be much more acceptable to many more people, not only because they contributed, which in itself is good grounds for acceptance, but because they will all have agreed that it is the best route for all involved. Loveday, for example, feels that people reconcile themselves to scarcities and deprivations (if one of these must be the case) if they have had a say in choosing between X and Y.[37]

Although the consensus approach was criticized earlier as a parliamentary proceedure which led elites to their perceptions of the "common good", it is useful here in conjunction with a precept of pure democracy, that of everyone having a part in politics. Further, as pointed out by McKenna, "With more people consensually developing priorities, resources will be allocated to the needs of the many instead of the wants of a few."[38] Rather than allowing "a small self-interested minority" to determine the fate of the system, the responsibility for supporting it and reforming it will be widely shared.[39] Moreover, in Aleshire's view, "the increased sophistication that attends involvement in the political process will result in a trend towards issue rather than personality politics."[40]

In summary, it is to be expected that not only will citizen participation ensure that political systems take into account those interests not now represented, but that the system itself will be altered so that those interests will be included somehow in the decision-making process (other than through the voting franchise). In this way, the public may come to appreciate the reasons for the delays that often occur in effecting decisions. This knowledge in itself may allow planners time to analyse a situation thoroughly, rather than trying to accommodate demands quickly, which often ends up in misinterpretation and unacceptable solutions anyhow. The general involvement, then, may actually be a protection against the gross miscalculations of too specialized experts. While the analysis of an issue may take longer, the total process may be shortened through the elimination of "after-the-fact" citizen backlach. The Committee on Government Productivity in Ontario asserts that citizen participation in decision-making is efficient and effective. "There can be no better way of discovering these unforseen consequences, long a major problem of administration," they say, "than by involving those likely to be affected by them."[41]

When backlash occurs, or when people reject a planner's or politician's idea, it is rarely because they are stupid or evil, but because they have different life-styles and goals.[42] The inclusion of citizens in a decision-making process, then, might give the politicians information about these differeces. For example, the historical perspective of an issue may be unknown to the politicians, but known by the citizens of an affected area. Further, it is almost imperative, as representatives become less able to consult with constituents, that these constituents assist in the formulation of goals. Not only can citizens be of assistance in collecting and analysing data, a job often better handled by those knowing an area better, but in interpreting this information for solutions to an issue, they are more at liberty to inject creativity, and to explore avenues that might otherwise be glossed over or ignored.

As people are becoming more educated and more politically aware, they may actually be able to contribute technical expertise on key aspects. Not only can politicians and planners be criticized for not covering the creative alternative solutions to an issue; they may also be criticized for not covering a wide enough technical expertise. It is suggested, here, that citizens can help to offset both these shortcomings. If they can be motivated to participate, and if an effective mechanism can be formulated, they could effect better decision-making. Their expertise can be a valuable resource in support of a project, or, if alienated, can conspire powerfully against it.

Benefits of Participation for the Individual

If participation has considerable benefit to offer the powerholders and the general decision-making process, what, besides consideration of his needs, is the citizen likely to derive from participating?

Several writers stress that education and self-development seem to be important personal benefits. The Committee on Government Productivity in Ontario suggests that participation broadens the intellect, enhances self-esteem, promotes independence, challenges initiative and promotes a feeling of fellowship and a sense of community.[43] More specifically, it educates people in the governmental processes at work. This may avert the frustration felt by many citizens who experience delays. Citizen participation also develops people's awareness of problems; how to anticipate, voice, plan for and implement solutions to their problems, apart from electing someone else. It also makes it possible for them to share in enlightened choices among options, as well as bringing them to the realization that analysis of options is itself important.

Allowing people to participate in the political process subjects them to its legitimate forms of give and take. The Committee on Government Productivity in Ontario sees as a product of participation more stability and order. Citizen participation puts a stamp of legitimacy on government activity. Through their appreciation of the process they are involved in, people will be more careful in gauging what the majority wants.

Coupled with this is the integrative nature of citizen participation. If participants are to be less careless, they are more likely to consider the interests of others, especially since this is their prime reason for participation in the first place. Participants begin to see others' points of view and to expand their perspectives. "Thus," says the Ontario Committee, "participation works against parochialism, and enhances understanding of and sensitivity to others."[44] Similarly, Compton feels that participation "enables (citizens) to define their needs in relation to the total environment."[45]

Personal satisfaction and morale are increased and contribute, in turn, to more responsible behavior. There is evidence that many individuals feel dissatisfied because the mechanism has not been available for them to influence planning (or the decision-making process) in their community. Skeffington says citizen participation offers the opportunity of serving the community and thereby becoming involved in its life.[46] To know about the option to participate, and to experience its satisfactions, both contribute to the political efficacy of the individual.

Disadvantages of Citizen Participation

In all fairness, it must be admitted that citizen participation is not an unmixed blessing. It has evoked considerable controversy and much negative opinion.

One common line of argument is that people are not highly motivated to participate in local political affairs. "Some people will prefer not to publicly participate because they are lazy, desire privacy, are dissenters or have contemplative or creative personality types."[47] Granted, these types are prevalent in our society but, as will be shown in Chapter II, one reason for apathy in public affairs is the method by which citizens are included. The voting franchise is hardly an appropriate indicator of people's desire to participate. Assuming, then, that the opportunity for citizen participation in decision-making will motivate people to participate, what are some of the disadvantages of public involvement?

Axworthy analysis participation from the present power structure to ascertain its possibilities. He states that the politician sees it as a threat because, "it creates new political forces that challenge his traditional base of support."[48] For the civil servant, citizen participation, "challenges his professional status, his competence, his ability to determine goals according to what he thinks is correct."[49] Hart continues in the same vein:

> The changes required to make a participative system work are so vast that there must be a thorough testing of the values which justify the ends. Advocates will have to convince the powerholders and the specialists that to include all citizens will improve the system.[50]

In response to accusations that the political process is narrow and specialized, and considers only what the elites care to have considered , Skeffington asserts that, "...it is as possible for people's views to be narrow, bigoted and ill-formed as it is for local planning authorities to be autocratic, insensitive and stubborn. The fact that many societies represent only one aspect of community life, increases that risk."[51] Is it possible, then, for a voluntary group to be any more representative of a large heterogeneous constituency?

Hart points out that the possibliity exists that the participating public will "adopt policies that are antisocial or contrary to the public interest even though the public intetest may not be clearly defined."[52]

It is felt that self-appointed spokesmen for a community may in fact be acting out of their own self-interests without engaging the opinions of others in the community. Arnstein claims that this type of participation "enables minority group 'hustlers' to be just as opportunistic and disdainful of the have-nots as their white predecessors...."[53] The Ontario Committee suggests that participation can be manipulative, especially in circumstances where middle-class people act as "animateurs" in working-class districts. "Who, in this case, are the districts being protected from?"[54] As another example, the members of the Community Planning Association of Canada were recently told that the dice are so loaded against ordinary citizens getting what they want out of major development schemes that they may as well stay out of planning altogether. The developers build obvious faults into their plans, it was claimed, like too little parking space or poor road access. After a series of meetings with the public, these faults are corrected and the unsuspecting citizens feel they have won a major victory. The developer then goes to city hall with the support of the public.[55] In short, then, lobbying by a segment of the population of a particular region for special privilege could be at the expense of the larger community.

Kasperson, though an advocate of citizen participation, felt it only fair to point out some possible disadvantages as well:

> The modus operandi of government runs basically counter to changes in the present spectator nature of citizen involvement in public affairs. Program development in government stresses efficiency, program results, minimization of manpower and resource expenditures, and repid decision making. But any given participation process is, at least for the short-run, inefficient, costly, time-consuming, and uncertain. Effective participation calls for a commitment of sufficient depth to override these other values.[56]

Head points out the citizens "can never fully absorb the totality of the technical data required to eliminate the need for experts."[57] The information needed to assess a major undertaking is vast and highly technical and sometimes beyond the understanding of the average citizen. The added costs attached to citizen participation, according to Aleshire, "include the need to provide them [citizens] with competent, trustworthy technical assistance."[58]

In a crisis situation, when citizens most feel the need for involvement, there may be little time for lengthy consultative explanation and deliberation. Speedy executive action is required, not group processes. Axworthy suggests that involving citizen extends the time of the decision-making process and is therefore perceived to be a disruption. Conversely, citizens may also become frustrated when their hopes for action, which prompted them to participate, are thwarted by the delays inherent in the government inplementation process.

Lastly, Damer and Hague feel that the spatial areas which citizens perceive and show sentiment for are very small. It is therefore unrealistic to assume they will perceive and participate in any decision-making matter which deals with larger areas. This would seem to suggest that citizen participation is limited in its usefulness to involvement in local area issues. This argument can be countered by reference to the earlier comments on education -- that it is to be hoped that the outlook of citizens would broaden with education and participation.

Further, as Altshuler points out,

> Groups of laymen and especially groups of poorly educated laymen with little or no administrative experience, have particular handicaps as decision-makers. They have little time to devote to consideration of the issues. Their concerns are selfish and immediate; they lack technical competence; they are both timid and suspicious....If policies are ever adopted, they tend to be extremely short run and conservative....[59]

Participation thus appears to have possible disadvantages for the powerholders, for the decision-making process and for the citizens themselves. Strongly negative views are beginning to emerge, such as those expressed by Freeman at the 1975 conference of the Canadian Institute of Planners, that participation should be downplayed before it wreaks disaster on the decision-making process. Specifically, participation should be "less intensive than is the case at present. We should revert back to a 'reactive' form of participation that was in vogue some years ago and abandon the present more intensive form of 'consultative participation'."[60] He believes that the reactive process would be less subject to delay and frustration.

In practical terms, the record of participation is mixed (as shall be shown in Chapter III). Conceptually, it offers enough promise to override the failures of the weakly supported attempts of the past.

CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IN PLANNING

Citizen participation is to be considered here as a possible mechanism to alleviate the decision-making problems of democratic government, particularly with reference to the planning process. While politics, according to Meyerson and Banfield, is the activity by which an issue is agitated or settled, planning is the course of action through which this settlement is implemented. Planning cannot exist independently of the political process, but must be seen in the context of a broader process of public decision-making and action. By extension, then, if there is a place for citizen participation in politics, there must also be a place for citizen participation in planning.

Aleshire gives one definition of planning as "an arena for issue-oriented intergroup combat in which the best answer is the view of the winning group or coalition of groups."[61] The combat and conflict situations described above are not the most advanced methods of problem solving, as pointed out by McKenna, though she notes that "it seems preferable for the weaker sections of the community to have their needs and ideas advanced through this method rather than not at all....Hopefully," she goes on, " as more people become legitimate actors in the politicial and planning process, it will evolve towards consensual decision-making."[62]

Earlier in this chapter, the consensual decision-making process of Parliament was criticized, but for its unrepresentativeness rather than the method of decision-making. Indeed, as Aleshire asserts, if citizens can "represent their wishes and work consensually with the assistance of planners then the possibility of meaningful degrees of citizen participation exists."[63] Hart says, "A healthy society must be founded upon citizen consensus, not upon citizen conflict."[64]

Citizen Participation in Physical Land Use Planning

Social needs, those that make life more pleasant and easier for us, have been the focus of attention of the political and planning machinery in recent years. The result of this focus has been that such things as health care, werfare, unemployment benefits and recreation facilities, which are as openly available to minority groups as they are to the elites, were established. To this extent, it might even be suggested that minority groups petitioning for such facilities could be labelled as public regarding since these facilities are a public expression of private needs.

To that extent as well, we could conclude that peripheral groups are represented in planning and, concomitantly, the political process. However, what happens when public regardingness carries over to areas of concern of contention where someone must lose to the benefit of another? Quite often, extended social services or recreation facilities or financial assistance are appropriated to minority and underprivileged groups in a community. If, however, there is considerable conflict over the use of certain funds, those who can organize and contribute to the support (moral and financial) of a certain stance may often have an upper hand. More importantly, however, because of their affiliation of membership in a societal elite, politicians usually respond to their demands first. "Planning," say Hague and McCourt, "takes care of the suburban, car-owning, home-owning middle-class and tries to alleviate real social and political problems of less privileged by a curious mix of utopian and utilitarian reformism, benevolent paternalism and naive environmental determinism."[65]

The type of public policy needed to satisfy the demands for most of the above facilities or services could be considered public regarding in terms of meeting the needs of almost all segments of the community. However, consider other facilities needed in a community, especially those associated with a growing community which must change rapidly to keep pace with this growth. Here we begin to talk, not about mere sustenance and relative convenience levels for all concerned, but about changes: changes in transportation forms and routes; changes in urban design (neighbourhoods, shopping centres); growth of the central business district; expansion of open areas; more and varied housing; accommodation for industry; and general growth of the community and possibly into neighbouring jurisdictions and communities.

Concern about the costs and inconvenience of unplanned development led to "notions such as zoning of land use; the rationalization of communications networks [leading to freeways, separation of cars and pedestrians, and rapid transit systems]; the regulation of building heights and then of floor-area ratios; the widening and realignment of streets; control of parking and then provision of parking space."[66] Efforts to change the physical form of the city were pursued with varying vigour, but they were politically possible only "to the extent that they were consistent with the interest of the property-owning and the rate-paying classes, and of the government instrumentalities that also have vested interests of various kinds in urban land disposal and use."[67] At the same time, in Parker's opinion, "those who apparently stand to suffer most from metropolitan growth seem to be the least articulate of urban groups and the most deficient in political influence."[68] Hague and McCourt offer an example:

> The relief of traffic congestion as a criterion for the effective functioning of the city is most frequently argued in terms of the economic life of a city....The costs of congestion and the benefits to be derived from its relief, however, are generally ascribed to the "community" at large and sectional interests who benefit or do not benefit are rarely identified.[69]

The physical or form features of an area, while by and large public regarding, are often regulated at the expense of peripheral (in the political sense) groups. Hence, such things as the displacement of homes in the inner city area to improve transportation routes is viewed by the elites as a public good, but one which serves their private needs as well (better access to downtown). To the displaced group or to those left in the wake of this change, private good is severly hampered. It is the private good of the non-elite, the peripheral groups, which is most often strained in planning. It is also this private interest, then, that is most often the source of conflict in planning.

If, as intimated at the beginning of this section, politics is necessarily involved in the resolution of conflicts in planning and if there is a place for citizens in politics, then citizens should be involved in this most recent reaction to the industrial city, the concern for physical and land use planning. In summary, then, while the basic failure of politics is the mis or non-representation of peripheral group needs, the manifestation of this problem has most recently been analysed in terms of physical planning inadequacies and their attendant implications.

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CHAPTER II

EFFECTIVE PARTICIPATION

If it can be accepted that citizens can and should be inlcuded in the planning process and, concomitantly, the political process, the next step is to ask how they are to be inlcuded. What responsibilities will accrue to citizens, planners and politicians in this new division of planning activity? Above all, what changes will have to be made in such matters as power distribution and planning procedures for the citizen's effective involvement in planning?

HOW CAN EFFECTIVENESS BE JUDGED?

Myerson and Banfield contend that participation is effective if it has achieved the goals of those participating, if it leads to the attainment of the ends sought.[1] Arnstein, however, goes further than this. She argues that the gauge of effective participation should not be the changes that are secured in the distribution of scarce resources but the changes that are wrought in the political process itself (which, if improved, should subsequently lead to a more equitable distribution of resources).[2] "Satisfaction on a given issue," writes Kasperson, "only displaces the locus of the conflict until a succession of successes induces change in the position of the periphery."[3] Citizen participation, then, is a method of achieving a change in the planning process.

However, public participation is not an end in itself. Although achieving effective citizen participation is desirable, it is ludicrous to consider the masses participating to secure anything but desired goals, in specific, policy changes. Citizen participation for participation's sake will go nowhere without some defined objectives. "The demand for participation understood in societal terms, seeks primarily substantive and not procedural change."[4] And yet, the way in which citizens are involved in public decision-making is also important. Bregha offers an extreme position:

> The provision for and delivery of services (attainment of goals) is only one and perhaps the least important aspect of citizen participation. What is important is how the decision or goal was arrived at - were the citizens a part of the result or was it imposed on them?[5]

Therefore, the change in decision or policy must not necessarily be the gauge of effective citizen participation for it only reflects the pressures of a given situation, such as the values and responsiveness of decision makers, the openness of the process and the acceptability of the participants' demands. If certain goals or ends are not achieved, despite citizen participation, it is not necessarily a failure of participation, but it could be a result of a lack of funds, a lack of commitment, or delays in the bureaucratic machinery. Similarly, attatiment of goals does not always mean effective participation but could mean an inclination of government in the direction of the citizens' recommendations or the technical and financial resources to carry out almost anything. As a result, we are not so much concerned with the success of a program in achieving tangible goals, for this tells us little about how effective participation comes about, but rather with the factors that prevailed to produce an effective method of treating the objectives. Citizen participation must be evaluated, as Draper claims, "...in terms of its ability to recapture the spitit of democracy."[6]

To determine effectiveness requires consideration not only of the types of citizen participation involved, which shall be discussed at some length below, but also the varying factors in operation in differenct programs (both program and area variables). Paradoxically, it is not sufficient to know how a given type of citizen participation operated under a given set of circumstances, for we would then be faced with as many methods of citizen participation as there are instances of it. It is imperative for the implementation of the concept of ctiizen participation in the political process that some guidelines be established. According to Frei:

> The social science researcher must insist on the development of an "impact model" based on theory, logically interrelating a "set of procedures with desired outcomes".[7]

In this thesis, a consistent effort will be made to evaluate citizen participation programs in terms of the more widely touted methodologies. Attention will be paid to the circumstances peculiar to the program (e.g., lack of funds or government interference) when attempting to explain the success or failure of that program type to achieve goals or changes in policy. It must be remembered, however, that the consistent failure of citizen participation to meet objectives may mean that the citizen participation methodology is ineffective as well.

> When we speak of methods, we speak in the same breath of instruments. Policies, decisions as to how to proceed require execution. Execution in turn implies technology. We are familiar with the kind of technology which includes machines and tools of all sorts, handled and manipulated in more or less obvious ways. We are even reasonably familiar with the technology of economic and military organizations geared to the achievement of technical objectives, qualified and informed by the criteria of efficiency. But when we move into that area of technology which is related to the creation, defense or reintegration of values, we find ourselves less assured.[8]

TYPES OF CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

For all its familiarity, citizen participation in planning "is a relatively new idea."[9] Its debut in the professional planning literature dates from the mid-fifties, and it was not given full and official sanction until the British Town and Country Planning Act of 1968. Nonetheless, efforts over the past decade have given us considerable insight into the difficulties and benefits of incorporating participation into the planning process. The more notable initial programs in the United States have included the Tennessee Valley Authority, the Model Cities Programs, The Community Action Programs and the efforts of the Economic Opportunity Office in the 1960's. Some useful British expereince has also followed on the adoption of the new Planning Act of 1968. Canadian experiences have also been documented.

"The citizen group movement," as Carota calls it, "takes various forms - it includes citizens' action groups, neighbourhood inprovement groups, ratepayers' associations and tenants' organizations, among others."[10] They are organized around issues such as pollution, which affect a broad geographic area; around regional or city issues, such as expressways; and around problems of local neighbourhoods (e.g., the promotion or prevention of urban renewal). "The involvement itself may range from simple participation in information meetings organized by the planners, to responsibility for developing various stages of the regional plan."[11] There are, then, a wide range of participative program types, and it is this range which will now be considered to formulate a basis from which pragmatic applications may be assessed for their effectiveness.

General Classifications

To accomplish this task of developing a concept and model for effective participation based on case study analysis, it will be necessary to narrow down the citizen participation ideology into definite types. The subject is confusing, however, as there seem to be at least as many typologies as there are authors. Some of the more gereral views will be examined first.

In an analysis of citizen participation, TVA and the Grass Roots, Selznick identifies two types of participation. The first, substantive participation, "involves an actual role [for the citizen] in determination of policy"; the second, administrative involvement, casts the citizen as "a reliable instrument for the achievement of administrative goals."[12] Selznick calls the latter democracy, but in theory, both forms of participation should be found in a democracy.

Clague divides participation in much the same manner as Selznick; involvement in the formal legislative process and involvement in the administrative process. He also notes a slight difference in the latter process, stating, that, "...the complexity of legislative policies today means that a kind of quasi-legislative function is developing within the adminstrtive sphere....There is a need therefore to include citizens in both advisory and decision-making capacities in the administrative process."[13] Participation in the administrative arena, however, is usually limited to carrying out or sanctioning policy, not establishing it.

Bregha reflects these sentiments in an article on community development in Canada. He feels that participation on government's terms is unlikely to eradicate the basic inequalities in our society, because the power mechanisms that led to those inequalities are preserved. "For this reason," he states, "strong and consistent social-action thrust, correcting the excesses of bureaucracies, limiting the power of politicians, and softening the rigidity of administrative systems, is the most dynamic basis for community development [citizen participation] programs in Canada."[14]

The early form of participation centered around "blue ribbon committees" and public relations bodies. Hague and McCourt consider "that these initial attempts were based on overcoming administrative problems rather than being based on the ideals of participatory democracy."[15] By relying on these bodies for support, the politicians could claim that citizen participation was being entertained and they could effectively rebut the objections of participation advocates. Among other problems, the structure for participation and the subsequent outcomes of participation were fed through existing political power processes. "Participation," they say, "has been embarked upon without regard to the political concepts involved, and attempts have been made to stimulate participation while still paradoxically holding firm to elitist attitudes."[16]

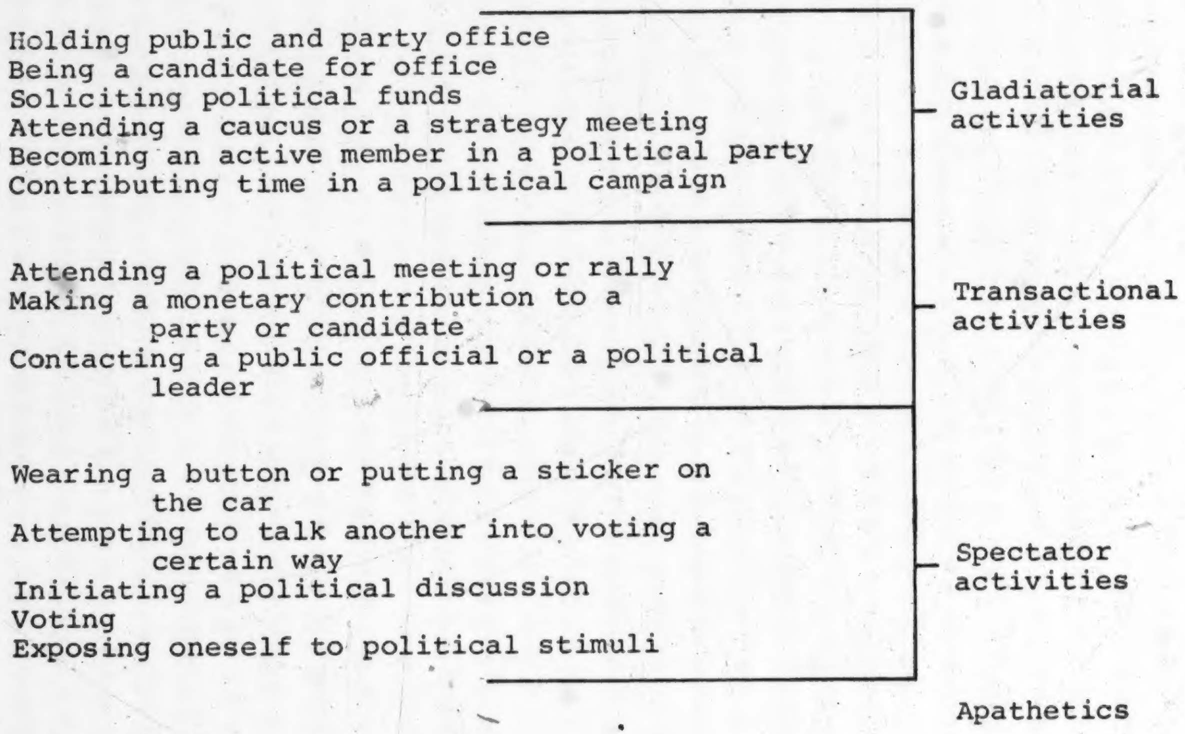
Who Should be Involved?

Before discussing more specifically how citizens can be involved, it may be useful to determine first who these citizens are. Even though the opportunity to participate may be offered to an entire population, this does not necessarily mean that they will take advantage of it. In fact, a criticism of mass participation involves the defense of non-participation as a right of individuals. "A philosophy of universal participation," it is claimed, "is more akin to totalitarianisn than democracy."[17] So, rather than first assessing who the candidates for participation are, perhaps it would be more expedient to determine who might participate.

It has already been shown that the vote is ineffective as a manifestation of democracy. Voter turn-out may be an equally ineffective indicator of political activity. Qualitative composition is more significant that aggragate figures of involvement. According to Milbrath (Figure 1), the American citizenry falls into three clusters. One group, about one third of the adult population, is the apathetics, largely unaware and uninvolved in the political world around them. The largest group, about sixty percent, comprises spectators, people who are minimally involved in some or all

Figure 1

A Hierarchy of Political Involvement


Holding public and party office
Being a candidate for office
Soliciting political funds
Attending a caucus or a strategy meeting
Becoming an active member in a political party
Contributing time in a political campaign
Gladiatorial activities
Attending a political meeting or rally
Making a monetary contribution to a party or candidate
Contacting a public official or a political leader
Transactional activities
Wearing a button or putting a sticker on the car
Attempting to talk another into voting a certain way
Initiating a political discussion
Voting
Exposing oneself to political stimuli
Spectator activities
Apathetics

Source: Lester W. Milbrath, Political Participation: How and Why Do People Get Involved in Politics? (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1965), p. 18.

of such activities as seeking information, voting, discussing, proselytizing, and displaying preference. Finally, a very small group of gladiators, perhaps no more than five to seven percent, are combatants in the political fray; they attend meetings, join parties and campaigns, solicit money and run for political office.[18]

It must be noted, however, that the hierarchical structure of participation is highly fluid, varying over time in response to such factors as the particular issue at stake and the type of political system.[19] Indeed, it is probably true that much more political involvement is evidenced around and concerning elections. The opportunities and the issues are more obvious at this time. Perhaps, too, although participation in gladiatorial activity appears desperately low, if the opportunities for citizen participation were plentiful, involvement might be higher.

It remains difficult for participation to gain momentum without the opportunities for citizens to intervene in public affairs.

Typoligies of Citizen Participation

The types outlined here rest on several basic assumptions about the willingness and the ability of citizens to participate which are not borne out by the preceeding discussion. They assume that the citizen wants to learn, that he seeks responsibility, would just as soon participate

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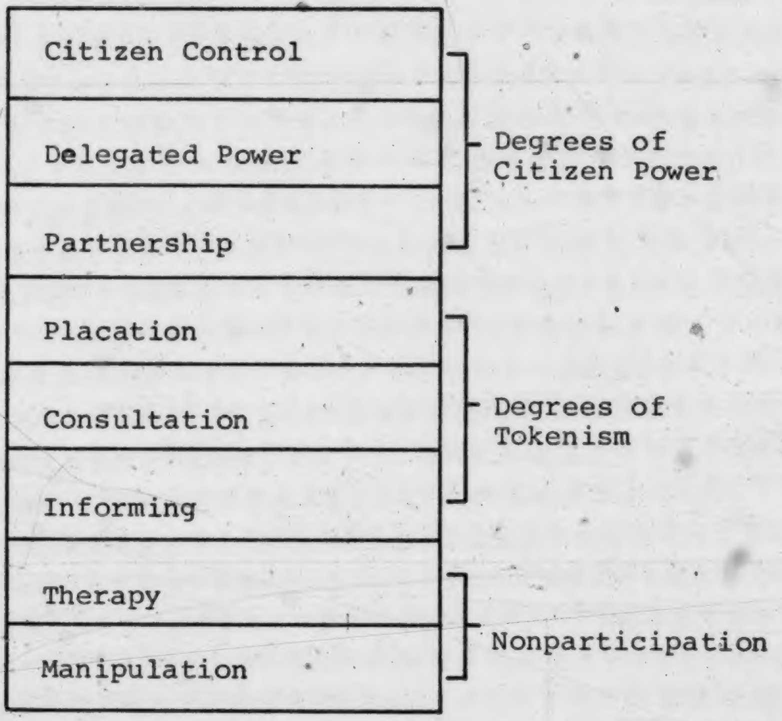
Figure 2

Eight Rungs on a Ladder of
Citizen Participation


Citizen Control
Delegated Power
Partnership
Placation
Consultation
Informing
Therapy
Manipulation
Degrees of Citizen Power
Degrees of Tokenism
Nonparticipation

Source: S.R. Arnstein, "A Ladder of Citizen Participation," Journal of the American Institute of Planners 35 (1969), 4:217.

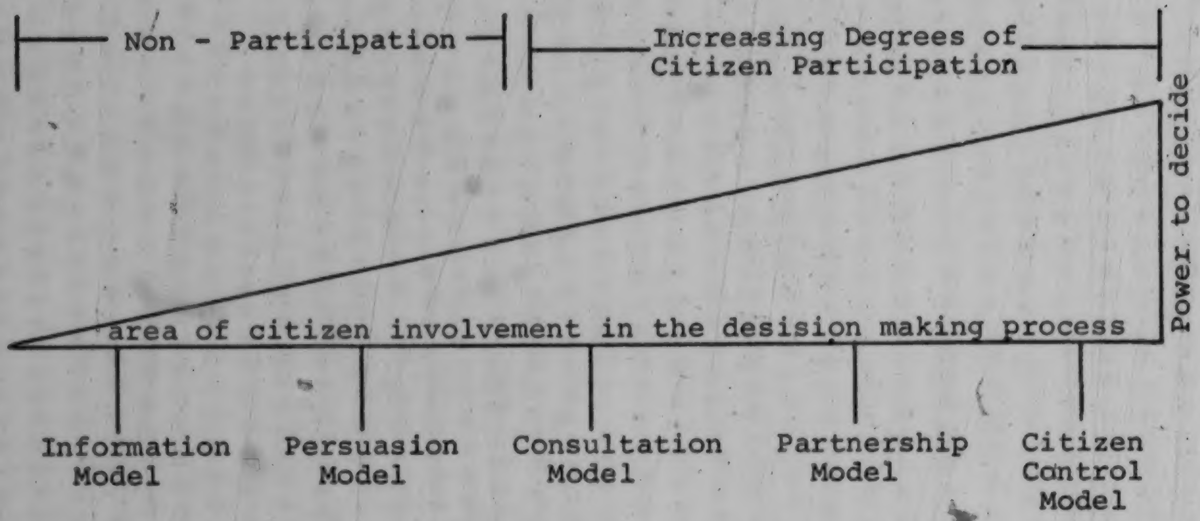
as relax and that imagination, ingenuity and creativity in the solution of organizational objectives are widely distributed in the population.[20] The question as to how well behavior reflects these assumptions will have to wait for an analysis of the case study literature in Chapter III.

Arnstein offers a typology of citizen participation based on examples from United States federal programs. Her model consists of eight successive and more progressive stages (see Figure 2). The top rung of her ladder, "Citizen Power," is a populist cause aimed at citizen control and the ideology of collectivism. But as Kasperson asserts, she "ironically adopts the theoretical construct of elitist theory. Her framework is oriented first to policy or the system, and then to the citizen's role in it."[21] This role is to compete for power.

"If Arnstein is the social advocate," says Kasperson, "then Edmund Burke is truly her bête noir, the bureaucrat, the proponent of expertise....Viewing the citizen from the steps of city hall, he sees five means by which citizens can be involved in the operation of the administration."[22] The last part of this statement more directly demonstrates Burke's stance -- it implies citizen involvement without redistribution of power. "Burke is primarily interested in the meaning of citizen participation for the organization."[23] The citizen is used as an instrument for improving intelligence, a means of maximizing "rationality" and a catalyst for implementation.

Figure 3

Models for Citizen Participation


Non - Participation
Increasing Degrees of Citizen Participation
Power to decide
area of citizen involvement in the desision making process
Information Model
Persuasion Model
Consultation Model
Partnership Model
Citizen Control Model

A third typology of citizen participation emerged out of the Man and His Resources Porgram Report (hereafter referred to as the Report), and is documented below as well. The Report held that "there is no 'correct' or preferred model for citizen participation. Rather, there are a variety of needs for, and degrees of participation, with numerous possibilities and strategies, some proven, some experimental."[24] Their model of citizen participation types appears in Figure 3 and, as in Arnstein's ladder, depicts a continuum from non-participation to increasing degrees of citizen participation, culminating again in citizen control or, as Arnstein calls it, "citizen power".

These are essentially the typologies to be used to categorize participation programs of the past. The success of one or more typologies will not be the single component in determining what is effecitive participation, for it shall be shown later that many variables may enter the practical situations. The first step, though is not to examine the countless variables and shrug at the impossibility of it all. Rather, broadly based theory should be developed so that pragmatic applications of citizen participation can be classified. The initial aim, then, is to present a composite typology, derived from all the available sources.

There is one participation type which does not emerge in any of the literature but which has been the beginning point of much of the participation effort to date.

This type can be labelled "reaction". Most lists of types have approached the subject from the point of view of those offering the opportunity for participation. But, often that has not come until conditions have become so unbearable that citizens have fought back; they have reacted to a certain issue. They organized and depended on their collective and voiciferous cry to meet their needs. Although not recognized as a legitimate form of participation, because of its complete unmanageability and inconsistency for the powerholders, reaction has probably stopped or delayed as many redevelopment schemes and freeway proposals as any other form of participation discussed below. At the same time, it is not a true form of citizen participation, outlined in Chapter 1 as a process whereby citizens, planners and politicians "develop a habit of discussion and organization not based on inflamatory issues, but based on developing...issues taking an offensive [stance] rather than only a defensive one."[25] However, instances of reactive participation will likely continue to occur as long as decisions continue to be formulated without support by the public. In fact, I feel that the fact that citizens are not consulted in decision-making is often more significant in generating this "reaction" than the outcomes of the decision itself.

As it became obvious that citizens were not to be put off because of their lack of power and that, indeed, there might be some credibility to the concept of citizen participation, legislators and administrators began to take it more seroiusly. As pointed out earlier, however, "these initial attempts were based on overcoming administrative problems rather than being based on the ideals of participatory democracy." This Arnstein equates with the two lowest rungs on the ladder of citizen participation as "non-participation." Burke also gives it some mention but, probably because of the status attached to it by Arnstein and others, it is not referred to in the Report typology.

Arnstein recognizes two levels of non-participation: manipulation and the therapy (Figure 2). Therapy is supposed to cure people's non-participation pathologies through the use of participation as a goal in itself. Citizens are engaged in considerable activity, but it is not focussed on changing the victimization that creates their pathologies in the first place. In other words, it is directed at means rather than ends. Burke elaborates on this under the heading of education-therapy strategy: "A frequently proclaimed but rarely used strategy of citizen participation, [it] focusses upon the presumed need for improvement of the individual participants."[26] It is hoped that a positive change in attitudes toward a problem, facilitated through group cooperation and a democratic process, can help an otherwise impossible situation. He cites an example:

> Oscar Lewis, the anthropologist, has suggested that organizing the poor and giving them a sense of power and leadership through participation has been one method of abolishing the subculture of poverty in certain countries, notably Cuba....But the formal and deliberate organization of citizens for this purpose has rarely been tried and if so, seldom for any appreciable time....What frustrates the use of this strategy in community planning is the inability to accommodate it to organizational demands [which are the goals it sets out to attain].[27]

While on the one hand, Arnstein argues a populist cause (i.e., that of citizen power -- in other words, the means as the end), on the other, she decries therapy as not ascribing to the desired goals of, say, community planning. Burke, on the other hand, regards this type of participation as at least potentially valuable as a teacher of cooperation. It promotes a feeling of efficacy in the participants, but until this feeling is converted to acutal legitimate power, the participation may not bear fruit. Probably this is why Arnstein delegates therapy to the lowest rung on her ladder of citizen participation, because whatever power it does manage to secure is illegitimate and temporaty, lasting as long as the powerholders care to involve the have-nots.

Manipulation comprises the involvement of what were earlier called "blue-ribbon committees". This type came into vogue during urban renewal programs when members of the social elite were invited by city officials to serve on such things as citizens' advisory committees. In this case, the officials educated, persuaded and advised the citizens. The concept was devised to engineer support and was a public relations vehicle for the powerholders. One benefit of manipulation, according to Arnstein, is that citizens have learned that it does not satisfy their needs. As a result, they come to demand genuine levels of participation.

Manipulation is a response to the demands brought on by therapy. The feeling of power to effect was put into action on boards and committees which were weighted in favour of the powerholders. As Burke points out in discussing his comparable type, Behavorial Change Strategy, "it has been found that it is easier to change the behavior of individuals when they are members of a group than to change any one of them separately."[28] Quite often, the main body of the group is able to grasp concepts and understand the jargon and technology far more easily than the token pluralist group representative. Group pressure has a way of suppressing the uninformed and forcing him to cooperate whether he know why or not.

Even though manipulation does promote what will later be considered a benefit to citizen participation, its use in this context demotes it to less than a token effort.

> Individuals...resist decisions which are imposed upon them. They are more likely to support a decision and equally important more likely to assist in carrying it out if they have had a part in discovering the need for change and if they share in the decision making process [even though they may have been unknowingly, in turn, duped into cooperation].[29]

The Report calls this the Persuasion Model, "a situation wherein authorities 'sell' their decision to the public in the name of citizen involvement; partiicpation is distorted into a public relations tactic for the decision maker...This ranges from a public campain to persuade the citizen to accept the 'experts' proposal to engineering public support through public relations programs."[30]

The next rung on Arnstein's ladder of citizen participation is called "Informing" and is the first of her "Degrees of Tokenism". Tokenism does not refer to the numbers of people involved, but to the power distributed amongst them. "Informing citizens of their rights, responsibilities and options," she says, "can be the most important first step toward legitimate citizen participation."[31] Too often, however, the focus is on a one-way flow of information from officials to citizens. The Report claims that, "under these conditions, particularly when information is provided in the language of the experts, participation on a large scale cannot occur."[32] Arnstein adds the comment that the citizens may be so confused that they will endorse anything.[33] "Possibilities of manipulation of policy priorities and other forms of information during all phases of the decision making process make it certain that the preferred goals of the decision maker and not of the citizen are most likely to privail.... The way in which various types of information are provided to citizens can discourage citizen participation and actually incraase apathy and alienation."[34] Since it is a degree of token power, officials would not be too concerned if citizens were alienated; they could be put back down the ladder to manipulation.

At the same time, informing should not be completely dismissed. It can serve to explain the rationale of practices employed by governments or the rationale of participation itself. "Information practices should therefore be based on the concept of out-reach; informing those directly affected by government actions in a manner that is sensitive to their particular needs."[35]

Some contend that information is not, in itself a form of citizen participation, but "an essential prerequisite to citizen participation."[36] In the Report, for example, it is relegated to the beginning of the range of participation types. However, the lower types of therapy and manipulation (and the Report's persuasion model), are more often carried out without the citizens' knowledge of their rights, responsibilities or options, often deliberately to keep them in a non-bargaining situation. Persuasion would be an ineffective mechanism for powerholders if citizens were more fully aware of their rights and options.

Once the citizen recognizes his right and can see all sides of an argument, he is more able to vie for a place in the power arena. It is felt, then, that informing is a concession by the powerholders that non-participation types are not acceptable. It is a first step to more appropriate and effective participation.

The second degree of tokenism in Arnstein's ladder of citizen participation is "Consultation". In brief, this invites citizens' opinions without offering any assurances that their concerns and ideas will be taken into account. Arnstein writes: "What citizens achieve in all this activity is that they have 'participated in participation'. And what the powerholders achieve is the evidence that they have gone through the required motions of involving 'those people'."[37] Participation is measured by how many people come to meetings and how many take brochures home.

The Report offers a strong view of this concept. "This is the point," they say, "at which most reports consider that citizen participation actually starts and this model is generally identified as a minimum acceptable."[38] But,

> ...if consultation is not combined with other support mechanisms...this participation model would be misleading. Minimum supports would be to guarentee that citizens' concerns and ideas will be taken into account, that two-way communications will be assured and that citizens have a right of access to relevant scientific, technical and legal assistance comparable to that available to the decision-maker....Success of this form of participation depends also on timing. There must be suffieicnt time to acquire an understanding of the issue and prepare a response.[39]

Arnstein's third degree of tokenism is "Placation". This allows citizens not only to make known their concerns, but also to advise and plan ad infinitum, while retaining for the powerholders the right to judge the ligitimacy or feasibility of the advice. As in manipulation, a few representatives of peripheral groups are hand-picked for positions on boards. However, they are not just from the elite and, because they have been informed of their rights and responsiblities, they are not as easily outfoxed.

Burke sees this as the first in a range of types that allows the expertise of the powerholders to be supplemented by that of particular citizens. He calls it the "Staff Supplement Strategy", the objective of which is to "exploit the abilities, free time, and/or the expertise of individuals to achieve a desired goal."[40] Quite often, however, few citizens are acturally involved in policy making roles; rather, they are involved in carrying out policies. Here, too, it is only those possessing a particular expertise or the hand-picked "worthy" few who are involved. There is no indication that these few are in any way representative of any group of people or of any particular point of view, or that they address themselves to any particular issue.

Citizens are still not given any power. The only benefit of this type of participation accrues to the powerholders for they have obtained expert advice on a voluntary basis. They do not even know if this is what the general public wants.

The only difference between placation/staff supplement and manipulation is that, in the former, citizens have more idea of what their role should be. Mostly, though, it is not realized or even seen as legitimate by the powerholders. In terms of "degrees of tokenism", the placation/staff supplement technique is seen as lettle more than manipulation.

Arnstein finally reaches what she considers true participation under the deading of "Degrees of Citizen Power", the first level of which is partnership. In many cases, partnership evolved as conciliation, resulting from a threat by citizens to take control and the subsequent willingness of powerholders to concede some power (the alternative could have been more violent). Through this strategy, states Arnstein, "...power is redistributed through negotiation between citizens and powerholders."[41] Citizens thus achieve some genuine bargaining influence over the outcome of the plan. The Report considers partnership a natural extension of the consultation from of citizen participation, and the optimum participation model for the majority of cases. They see it as an opportunity to increase instances of participation in such arrangements as joint policy boards or planning committees.

The second type of citizen power is negotiated power which Arnstein sees as "citizens achieving a dominant decision making authority over a particular plan or program."[42] Here, for the first time in any typology, participants have a role which goes beyond solving administrative concerns or providing political efficacy for the have-nots. It relates to one of the important reasons for citizen participation as outlined in Chapter I, that of contributing to the decentralization of actual power, beyond the delegation of administrative niceties. If, indeed, a program is designed to overcome a problem or to create a better situation for some geographic group or area, and if the resources and inclination are there, why not delegate responsibility and power over that program to those to whom it is directed? This type of participation, then, is directed at the goals of a program and incidentally, but concomitantly, induces significant change in carrying out the program and hence allows greater chances for success.

Essentially, negotiated power means that citizens have sufficient authority to ensure accountability of the program to them. They usually have a clear majority of votes on boards and committees, and are delegated specified (but not final) veto powers. The powerholders, though, are not quite ready to surrender complete power -- after all, this may be the first instance of power redistribution. Any more delegation might involve a restructuring of the political system which politicans and administrators (powerholders of all kinds) are not quite ready to do. Even decentralization is a formidable step to undertake, both in terms of the effect it would have on the centralizing ideology so prevalent in North America and in the physical ramifications of ameliorating the administrative and political planning concerns.

The final rung on Arnstein's ladder is, quite naturally, citizen control, which is echoed by both Burke and the Report. Arnstein says, "People are simply demanding that degree of power [or control] which guarantees that participants or residents can govern a program or institution, be in charge of policy of managerial aspects and be able to negotiate the conditions under which'outsiders' may change them."[43] The Report considers citizen control an extreme and unlikely form of public participation, except perhaps at the community level. "In some instances, political power can and should be transferred to a community level....They [citizens] have a certain insight into problems, particularly at the community level, which exceed those that any expert or body of experts could hope to achieve."[44]

Burke draws attention to "the fact that centers of power do exist outside the formal political structure of a community and...are influential in shaping community decisions."[45] He outlines two strategies which are designed to exploit this community power, though neither comes close to Arnstein's conception of citizen power. The first is to capture influential members of the community by involving them as particpants in the organization to achieve organizational objectives. This strategy is actually one of two forms of cooptation, a major strategy outlined by Burke which is here divided and attached to other types outlined above. One is formal cooptation which involves winning consent and legitimacy from the citizenry at large by involving citizens in an organization "to prevent anticipated obstructionism,"[46] or because the need the organization purports to serve is not in itself sufficiently pervasive to gain community support. Citizens are seen neither as a means nor as partners, but as elements of obstructionism whose cooperation and sanction are sought. A common method of formal cooptation is to tap into existing citizens' groups so that they become identified with the program, and committed to it and, ideally, to the apparatus of the operating agency.[47] Cooptation in this sense is little more than manipulation. However, it has some benefits, and can raise conventional manipulation to a more satisfactory means of participation. For example, as Head points out in Draper, participation of the whole of the citizenry (or at least representatives of all citizenry) "...may be viewed as a form of countervailing power, possessing, at least to some extent, the possibility of checking the influence of other powerful groups exerting pressure upon government on behalf of their own interests."[48]

Informal Cooptation is based on the notion that "certain individuals are considered to have sufficient resources or influence -- financial, decision-making, legislative -- to vitally affect the operation of the organization."[49] The intention is to capture this influence or at least to neutralize it, because it is crucial to the continuation of current organizational policy. This second form of cooptation, then, is seen as one strategy for effecting some degree of community control. However, control by specific individuals or interests in a position to enforce demands cannot be considered in the community's best interests. Taking power from the powerholders is not the only objective of citizen participation; it must be reinvested effectively for a greater benefit to the community. Informal cooptation therefore equates most closely with placation on the Arnstein ladder. It involves those individuals who can, for some reason, command a place in the leadership of organizations. They may even demand a role in policy making which could not only interfere with what the organization is attempting to do (which hopefully is in some way indicative of community needs), but would also undermine the credibility of the organization (particularly if they press for special interests which do coincide with those of the community at large). A basic contention of the strategy is that change can be caused by confronting existing power centres with the power of numbers -- an organized and oommitted mass of citizenry. In effect, a new centre of power is created, based not upon control of wealth and institutions but upon size and dedication.[50]

The effectiveness of Burke's cooptation strategies is likely to be limited in duration. Maintaining citizen interest appears to be the chief difficulty. The numbers required to generate power will cross many individual interests. Commitment to a cause rather than to specific issues would maintain the enthusiasm of the organization better. "It is difficult to maintain interest in idealized goals over long periods of time. The emotional commitment required is too enervating. Often the leader of the organization is forced to depend upon exhortations or the manufacturing of crises to recharge interest."[51]

Arstein, although supporting citizen control, also states the arguments against it. First of all, she claims that citizens must understand that achieving a genuine place in a pluralistic sense subjects them to its legitimate forms of give and take. She also claims that "...it supports separatism (i.e., community bias); it creates balkanization of public services; it is incompatible with merit systems and professionalism; and, ironically enough, it can turn out to be a new Micky Mouse game for the have-nots by allowing them to gain control but not allowing them sufficient dollar resources to succeed."[52]

Evaluation

Burke claims that the behavioral change and staff supplement strategies are the most appropriate for community planning. That is a natural reflection of his vantage point. However, if participation is to achieve both ends (goals) and better means to those ends, neither of these strategies can be accepted as best. As was pointed out earlier, the staff supplement strategy, while beneficial for the administrators, does little for the political efficacy of the particpants, and thus corresponds to a slightly enhanced manipulation rung on Arnstein's ladder. The behavorial change strategy was equated with the Report's persuasion model and Arnstein's manipulation strategy. It therefore occupies a very low rank in evaluations of citizen participation. In total, Burke's typology offers little prospect for effective citizen participation.

One would expect Arnstein to concentrate on her top three rungs, degrees of citizen control, as the only acceptable forms of participation. She does, however, indicate the successive and accumulating powers accruing to citizens by climbing the ladder of citizen participation, and thus attaches some importance to each rung. She warns of the arguments against community control, and seems to see little hope that citizens' groups will ever be granted the ultimate power.[53] Delegated power is probably the level that she would accept as the most capable of achievement, and it clearly offers a highly effective form of participation. While ends are considered, an important orientation towards means is developed in the form of decentralization.

In the Man and His Resources Program Report, partnership is considered to be the most pervasive and successful strategy to date, and probably the optimal participation model for most cases. It is assumed here, as in Arnstein's model, that efficacy has accumulated and that the information and power gained at lower steps are carried through to the higher steps. The difficulty of achieving more power, according to the Report, is a feeling echoed in Arnstein's delegated power strategy, that decentralization will play a large part in the reallocation of power. As yet, however, decentralization is a very difficult and touchy concept, and until one of its precepts (the redistribution of decision-making rights) is accepted, citizen control could cause as great a disruption in community planning as the reaction tactics at the bottom of the participation heap.

A Composite Typology

Finally, for purposes of analysing case studies of citizen participation in North America and Britan, it is expedient here to develop a composite typology. For the most part, it is felt that Arnstein offers the most complete range of types of participation, although some may be redundant or even too particularistic for the purposes of this thesis. The authors of the Man and His Resources Program Report appear to have had Arnstein's ladder in front of them while drawing up their typology, so they were able to recognize its shortcomings and attempt to correct them in their own progression. Burke's comments, while not so orderly or indicative of a cumulative or even ranking strategy, supplied valuable insights from a different point of view. From these, then, a spectrum is presented in Figure 4.

Figure 4

A Composite Typology

Citizen Control
Delegated Power
Consultation
Informing
Cooptation-Staff Supplement
Manipulation-Persuation
Therapy
Reaction

On the surface, the range of participation types may appear as degrees on a contimuum from powerlessness to power, but there is a definite difference between reaction at the lowest level and citizen control, which is not immediately recognizable. This is that the implications of achieving one over the other have strong political implications. On the lower end, we have participation within the established decision-making process (no redistribution of power) while at the other end, citizen control, we may be speaking of replacing established structures.

Just where this redistribution of political power occurs in the continuum is difficult to determine but, once the opportunity for participation is recognized, it must lead to either citizen control or an extremely frustrated public. As Compton remarks:

> Even though much participation is conceded without any loss of power...by education (enlightenment, organization, resources and leadership) people achieve power -- even if government does not have the dispersal of power in mind in granting citizen participation,for anything to be effective, they must provide...other resources which naturally lead to power.[54]

In the analysis of participation experiences, it will be important to determine which end of the spectrum they lean to, whether to working within established decision-making processes or replacing established structures. In this way, it may be possible to determine where the change-over necessitating the redistribution of power occurs.

My intent is to establish whether effective citizen participation must include the redistribution of power or whether it can be obtained somehow within present structures (which would make its existence more plausible).

More specifically, however, there may be a myriad of factors to reduce the validity of this generalization, and while it is only through generalizations based on case studies that we are able to formulate theory on participation, it is a type of research that suffers particularly from almost day-to-day change, and in which the classical model of independent and dependent variables does not fit.[55] Important in this context are such things as the areas included for participation and the breadth of the concerns with which citizens are to deal. From all of this, it may be concluded that given the type of jurisdiction (i.e., neighbourhoods, city, region, nation), the political climate (the attitude towards citizen participation) or the issue at stake, a particular type of participation will work best to achieve the desired planning goals.

If citizen participation is to be a method of helping planners to reach the desired goals of a well-planned area more effectively and expediently, it is primarily an administrative need, which Arnstein and the Report place on the lower rungs of their participation typologies favouring present political structures. If, however, citizen participation is to be a method of planning in itself, political concerns are also being raised. These would tend more towards the higher levels of citizen participation, and indeed a restructuring of political power.

The case studies will be compared to the composite typology developed above in an effort to determine which type of participation appears to have generated the greatest number of effective programs. This will then indicate whether or not the redistribution of power is necessary for effective participation. Lastly, other factors contributing to the effectiveness of a program other than the type of participation sought should determine the importance of types versus factors in securing effective citizen participation in planning.

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CHAPTER III

EXPERIENCE WITH CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

One notable difference between earlier participation in planning and the present movement, as noted in an Ontario Government Working Paper on citizen participation, is "the pervasiveness of the participation phenomenon. Whereas past movements generally were rooted in one particular sector of society...the present one seems to spring from a great variety of socio-economic strata -- middle-class homeowners, students, businessmen, the aged, Indians and the poor."[1]

The present participation movement, described by Damer and Hague, has roots as far back as the Tennessee Valley Authority in 1933.[2] Since then, many and varying opportunities for citizen participation have emerged throughout the western world. Participation experiences in Canada, the United States and Britain have contributed most noticeably to the literature on citizen participation. It is these experiences then that attention is focussed on in this chapter.

UNITED STATES EXAMPLES

Tennessee Valley Authority

One of the earliest efforts at citizen participation was mounted by the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA). Although not born out of the same frustration and dissatisfaction with the political and planning processes as many of the later cases, the ideology and implementation of its citizen participation program hold significant lessons.

TVA was created by the United States Congress in May, 1933 as a response to a long period of pressure for the disposal of government owned properties at Muscle Shoals, Alabama, and the resource development of the Tennessee River watershed. Amongst other things, the Authority was vested with administrative freedom to devise methods of dealing with local people and institutions which would reflect the democratic process at work. This led to what was called the "grass-roots doctrine", to be administered through a cooptation methodology which fits two areas of the typology spectrum (see Figure 4). Selznick concurs with Burke in defining cooptation as "...the process of absorbing new elements into the leadership or policy determining structure of an organization as a means of averting threats to its stability or existence."[3] He also differentiates between formal and informal cooptation. The Authority was to enter into formal cooptation strategies in which actions would be channelled to fulfill the administrative function while preserving decision-making in the initiating group. The Authority's grass-roots policy must however be understood as related to the need of the organization to come to terms with certain local and national interests, and that in actual practice, this need results in commitments which had restrictive consequences for the policy and behavior of the Authority itself.

The tactic used by TVA to carry out their grassroots program was decentralization, which is really what the constitution of such an authority is based on. It was to take care of water and land resource responsibility as a local area power base, rather than having each resource administered from Washington, or by Washington through representatives. As a decentralized agency, it was given a key role in coordinating the work of the state, local, and federal programs in its area of responsibility. It was also to be shaped by intimate association with long established area structures. This meant a movement away from federal agencies and greater involvement with state and local agencies. As well, voluntary associations were used as a means of involving concerned people. Thus, TVA was a decentralized agency working with and through community groups in a cooptation methodology.

Unfortunately, the locus of attention tended to be dominated by existing associations within the Valley, probably because many of them were rather strong organizations and demanded this attention. The ideals of TVA included the use of voluntary associations but, at that stage in the development of participation as a methodology, the contributions of anyone not officially associated with an issue were not recognized. Hence, the voluntary associations suffered as did formal cooptation.

The attempts by TVA to adhere to their doctrine met with other difficulties.

> Allegiance to the grass-roots doctrine and translation of it into policy commitments, have created serious disaffections between the TVA and other branches of federal government, including the Department of Agriculture and Department of the Interior. As a result, those departments have been moved to oppose the extension of the TVA form of organization to other areas....[4]

What resulted, then, was that the major component of TVA's grass-roots procedures, the agricultural program, turned into informal cooptation wherein strong centres of influence in the Valley were absorbed covertly into the policy-determining structurs of the TVA. Selznick points out the dangers inherent in informal cooptation. "An emphasis on existing institutions as democratic instruments may wed the agency to the status quo," and concomitantly, "existing agencies inhibit a direct approach to the local citizenry."[5] However, since informal cooptations did much to enhance the stability of TVA, it is difficult to speak of the failure to include the general public as disadvantageous. On the other hand, under pressure from those influential groups which were coopted into the program, the TVA gradually altered a significant aspect of its character as a conservation agency.

It is difficult to analyse precisely such a long-standing program as TVA for it has had many successes and many failures. It has been looked upon both as a positive liberating force, advancing the people it serves, and as a "nefarious encroachment on free enterprise with subversive intent."[6] While these points are well worth noting, it must be remembered that TVA was one of the first ligitimate attempts at citizen participation. Further, its mandate was to devise programs involving the local citizenry in accordance with democratic principles. The scope suggested by this mandate, which was only part of the means to an end, is so great that it is not surprising that the grass-roots doctrine of formal cooptation was diverted into the aberation of informal cooptation. But coopted groups, be they formal or informal, may not be as willing as those in the Tennessee Valley to remain passive with respect to their expected participative roles. For example, citizens' groups in urban renewal programs of a later era soon resisted their role as sanctioning agents and information receptacles, and demanded more influence in planning decisions.

It was some years after TVA before further programs involving citizen participation were conducted in the United States. They have been more concentrated in time and area than the TVA, and also their results are more easily analysed for their specific contributions to effective participation.

Model Cities and Community Action Programs

Aleshire claims that the next call for citizen participation was a vague requirement for advosory committees in the Workable Program's Amendment to the Housing Act of 1954.

> In many cities, advisory committees were blue ribbon or public relations bodies without real power and usually not representing the residents who face personal...problems.[7]

Two subsequent programs, which will be discussed quite extensively here, are the Community Action Program and the Model Cities Program. Since much of Arnstein's work is related to them, they should fit easily into the citizen participation typology in Figure 4. The literature on these programs seems to be almost limitless and their success or lack of success is widely debated. For convenience, the following discussion is drawn largely from the special issue of Public Administration Review (September, 1972) which features the evaluations of these programs by several different scholars.

The Community Action Program (hereafter referred to as CAP) was initiated under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, Title II -- Urban and Rural Community Action Programs. The purpose of this program was;

> to provide incentive for urban and rural communities to mobilize their resources to combat poverty through community action programs.[8]

The only reference to actual participation comes in Section 202:

> a) the term "CAP" means a program...
>
> > (3) which is developed, conducted and administered with the maximum feasible participation of residents of the areas and members of the group served.[9]

Financial, technical and research assistance was to be provided to communities desiring it. The finances allotted for this program were, in relation to other programs discussed later, astronomical: $340 million for each of three years to June, 1967.

The Model Cities Program (hereafter referred to as MCP) was set up formally as the "Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966" and actually grew out of the difficulties incurred by CAP. Title I established a program of federal grants and technical assistance to help provide the incentive and the financial means for a city to plan and carry out a program for rebuilding and restoring entire blighted sections or neighbourhoods, and to improve the general welfare of the people in such areas.

The demonstration city approach placed maximum dependence upon the local community and its officials to plan and carry out the program. The federal government was prepared to help with technical and financial assistance, but only to those cities presenting imaginative and effective ways of dealing with the physical and social problems of slum and blighted areas. In the words of Title I:

> This is to be a local program, planned and carried out by local residents and based on local judgment as to the city's needs and its order of priorities in meeting these needs.[10]

Again, the initial reference to participation, a concept for which this and the CAP are noted, is hidden in a clause of one of the criteria for financing:

> to provide educational, health and social services necessary to serve the poor and disadvantaged in the area, widespread citizen participation in the program, maximum employment opportunities....[11]

A further section headed "Participation in the Program," states that,

> the ultimate success of this new program rests upon the ability of local people to assess their own most pressing problems and devise their own solution to these problems.[12]

Again the financial aid was astronomical, up to a maximum of $900 million for the first two years.

The success of these two programs must be evaluated in terms of the goals set up by the legislation, and the preconceived role of participation in this goal achievement.

A brief analysis of each program is provided by Hallman. He says the CAP had three assignments: provision of services, mobilization of public and private resources, and the achievement of maximum feasible participation. This last assignment was coined by President Kennedy and proved to be a thorn in the politicians' sides. Governments at that time were just not ready to accept its implications. For example, Hallman writes of CAP:

> In a handful of communities, these representatives (the poor) gained a majority of the board seats, and those Community Action Committees tended to place more stress on social action than upon services or coordination. Here and there, neighbourhood organizations stimulated protest movements. While altogether the dollars spent for aggressive citizen participation were small, the controversy which this stirred up was grist for the journalist's mill.[13]

In fact, the nature and volume of controversy surrounding the CAP, according to Strange, was a function of the fact that the administration took place in a non-governmental setting.[14]

By 1967, the emphasis had shifted to the provision of services and participation was being achieved in a number of ways. However, in program terms, the price of continued emphasis upon citizen participation was some restriction of the role of the community action agencies. Other federal agencies were not willing to trust them to handle their local programs.

Community action was not restored to favour with the federal officials concerned with coordination until the introduction of the MCP. Aleshire has written that, "MCP arose partially from a feeling that new answers were needed in the process of rebuilding American cities."[15] The CAP was tried outside existing institutions and found to be too risky. When the MCP was established, again with a provision for citizen participation, more power was vested in local governments and expanded leadership for city mayors. Although citizen participation was required on a widespread (not maximum) basis, the act required a city to have "administrative machinery...for carrying out the program on a consolidated and coordinated basis."[16] The MCP was under the ultimate control of the local government body in contrast to CAP where city control was optional.

Aleshire states that the MCP did expand the area of citizen influence beyond primarily human services and into the issues of land-use planning and physical redevelopment, areas in which the CAP's, despite their objectives, were weak. "The vast majority of plans," says Hallman, "have been adopted through a bargaining process in which the citizens play an important role -- a much stronger role than under Urban Renewal, but usually less than under Community Action."[17] Klosman, on the other hand, feels that the actual programs initiated under MCP have had very little tangible or physical impact. A walk through the model neighbourhoods reveals slight visible evidence of rehabilitation. Most of the MCPs are devoted to institutional and social change, not physical change.[18]

Ley feels that the actors in the MCP seemed to be reinforcing each other's deepest emotional needs.

> In Philadelphia, this sophisticated group has consumed $75 million and made no single impact upon the social problems of the inner city. Effective actions appear to be internalized, or directed along the City Hall-Washington, D.C. axis; client oriented goals have taken second priority.[19]

In retrospect, Hallman claims that the reluctance of governments to grant community organizers enough freedom of action was borne out in both programs. At the same time, he believes that CAP has recorded notable achievements. Thousands of citizen organizations have been formed in urban and rural poverty areas, new leaders have emerged, a new type of neighbourhood institution (the neighbourhood corporation) has come into being, community action groups have kept the MCP "honest", and the triparite boards composed of poor, public officials and civic leaders is one of the few examples of united common endeavour.

MCP's achievements were that it legitimized the use of board members selected by residents, that it secured more representative participation in areas where CAPs had gone stale, and that it fostered communications between different elements of urban society.

It may be well here to decide where CAP and MCP fit into the typology spectrum. Austin, in his evaluation of CAPs, feels that, "to a substantial degree, the structure of participation was built around a model of advisory and coopted participation within the operating constraints of a rather traditional model of the non-government social welfare agency."[20] Boone, in an analysis of the efforts of the Office of Economic Opportunities (OEO) in CAPs, warns of the danger that the unskilled representative will be coopted by "skilled" players of the systems game. While Austin felt that the cooptation was formal (i.e., avoiding anticipated backlash by including citizens in the leadership of organizations), Boone felt it was a case of the informally coopted (those with the resources to demand a place in decision-making) formally coopting the rest of the citizenry.[21] Boone's concept is entirely possible given the non-governmental oreientation of CAPs. In either case, considerable formal cooptation was evidenced. Even though formal cooptation has been scorned almost as non-participation, the problems with CAPs were not so much a function of the technique but, as shall be seen shortly, with the restrictions placed on the program by government.

Arnstein has provided an evaluation of citizen participation in MCP on behalf of an areawide council. She writes:

> HUD knows that the powerholders will bicker or barter over the division of the Model Cities pie. But the community is told to cool all conflict and confrontation. It should achieve its goals by advising powerholders and watching the results.[22]

Hallman, who noted the de-emphasis on participation in the MCP and the reintroduction of local government veto of plans, states that, "In some communities, mayors or city councils have vetoed program components favored by residents, but rarely have they added programs on their own. The vast majority of plans have been adopted through a bargaining process in which the residents play an important role."[23]

It appears, then, that neither program occupies any one position on the typology spectrum. This is no doubt due to the number of actual programs carried out under each. Each, however, does seem to provide general support for a certain type of action. The CAP, for example, is most definitely a case of cooptation, both formal and informal, the latter of which while possibly more effective in terms of change, is no better than the former in terms of citizen participation ideology. The MCP on the other hand, while subject to considerably more government control and veto, legitimized many participation procedures which the more liberal and unorganized CAP was unable to do. This program was described as an advisory (in the manipulation sense)/ bargaining process (more akin to consultation or even partnership). While this does not assist in evolving any "best" type of participation vis-a-vis the spectrum presented, it indicates that what does evolve will probably be a composite of types and may depend more on other factors for success than its place in the typology.

Factors Affecting Success in U.S. Examples

The factors for success are articulated by Strange, who prefers to call them restrictions on participation which, if alleviated, could lead to better participation, regardless of the participation strategy.[24] One of the major restricting devices of the Office of Economic Opportunity's involvement in CAP was the emphasis on national priorities determined at the national level. To the extent that program development occurred in Washington, citizen input through participation at the local level became relatively less important. This is not all that surprising given the centrally oriented political system in the United States and the concomitant hierarchical power structure which would be most disrupted by citizen participation.

One of the ideals of CAP and MCP, however, was to improve the delivery of services through the dispersal of facilities and functions -- to better adapt centrality to the pressures from local areas. The way to do this, claims Kasperson, is through decentralization and a redistribution of power to subunits. This concept was tried in the TVA with some success. The concept was there in principle with MCP and CAP, but fell short in its application.

Kasperson feels that decentralization may be the panacea for the mistrust and disaffection between powerholders and citizens which fostered the demand for citizen participation in the first place.

> While never in truth a participative society, Americans recall with ill-placed fondness the town meeting, barn raising and church building in samll towns....Decentralizaiton, it is hoped, will create a society where neighbours personally know their officials and refuse to be hoodwinked by slick political campaigns or media.[25]

As CAP and MCP became established programs and as they began to have to answer annually to Congress when seeking appropriations, more and more priority setting was done at the national level and more package programs were developed nationally for use at the local level. Clearly, any hopes of decentralization through the dispersal of facilities and functions were thwarted by the basically centralized system of American government. In Ley's view, "While participation continues unflagged in Canada, south of the border it has been weakened, at least temporarily, by the aggressive centralizing forces of the federal administration."[26]

A second restriction was that funding procedures tended to restrict and weaken citizen participation. Approximately one thousand CAPs were established throughout the nation (more than was originally intended) which resulted in reduced funds per project, and contention for what was available. This restricted the size of local community action agencies and the level of program operation in which they could engage. Consequently, it also reduced the importance of citizen participation. As well, the financing of the programs was also inconsistent. For example, although millions of dollars were allotted to CAP, the originators of the program envisioned it as an experimental one in a few areas. The subsequent expansion of the program under Sargent Shriver to over one thousand community action agencits drastically reduced funds to each participating area. This, coupled with the establishment of proposals for the programs, which often took considerable time and already left many citizens out of the program, were suddenly met with a proposal to share the wealth. Agencies which had spent money on hiring and proposing, had little left for the program itself. Most agencies were forced to terminate programs; some entire agencies were closed. The size of agencies and the level of local program operations reduced the importance of citizen participation.

A third factor was the large number of documents needed to support program applications, and the amount of time that was needed to prepare them. As a result, there was little local participation in the preparation and submission of proposals. Moreover, the OEO reduced the amount of possible participation by constantly changing its regulations on participation, and its definition of who constituted the "poor" or the "residents of the area involved." Granted, it can be difficult to determine which persons and segments of society should be included in what programs. Often, as was the case with CAP and MCP, participation does not inlcude those most directly affected by plans. It is well documented, for example, that middle income people participated in these programs more than lower income ones. It is also true that not all people need be consulted on all matters. It would be both extremely cumbersome (to include everyone) and often superflous to inlcude people in decisions that in the first place are very technical, and, in the second, may better be handled by a professional.

The issue here, however, is not so much who the citizen is but, as borne out by CAP in particular, that he should be consistently identified. Inconsistency as to who the citizen is can only lead to confusion and uninterest and to the ultimate failure of whatever strategy is utilized.

Other problems arose out of the clash between paid staff positions and the voluntary positions which the poor were offered on boards. Many voluntary workers felt they would prefer to be paid for their positions rather than have political influence. As well, in many cases, educational standards for positions with the boards far surpassed the qualifications of the poor. And yet, at the same time, elected officials were excluded, leaving no basis for the implementations of recommendations.

The MCP also had its restrictions on participation. In this case, however, the restrictions were more blatant in an attempt to differentiate it from CAP. First, there was the basic legislation emphasizing the roles of local government and limiting the role of citizen participation. There was a return of authority to local governments (authority in CAP was vested in program participants, although this in no way gave them any power in the political arena) coupled with the emphasis on participation by business and government as well as by citizens. This was aimed at drastically decreasing the emphasis on and concern with citizen participation. Advice giving, employment, and organized support for the program, were all legitimate roles for citizens to play. But not control!

A further restriction on citizen participation in MCP was the emphasis on planning, which resulted in increased reliance on professional staff, thus reducing the potential impact of citizens. Most of this planning had to do with the development of proposals for programs, which citizens were not too interested in. Citizens believed it was a delay tactic by the government. It seems paradoxical that MCP is admonished for too much planning and CAP for not providing a suitable climate for citizen participation in program planning.

Timing, as mentioned in the restictions on MCP, is also important to effective citizen participation. Aleshire comments that in the MCP, "the citizen participation process required a great deal more time and energy than federal officials were willing to recognize."[27] Strange claims that the extremely tight deadlines on proposals at the beginning of programs precluded much citizen participation at that point. Bearing in mind the other needs for that money at that point in American history, and the subsequent need for these programs to appear useful to the Bureau of the Budget and Congress, it was more inperative that the programs be efficient and rational than democratic. Citizen participation, according to Lyon, "is the antithesis of efficiency."[28] It is in direct opposition to the goal of shortening the total planning process. To correct this dilemma, says Lyon, we must separate the arguments on policies from those about specific objectives. This may have been beneficial for many communities embarking on these programs but since the program was directed at the poor and since the poor are given to concern over specific objectives, the separation was untenable. "It seems unrealistic", as Damer and Hague point out, "to assume that they [citizens] will perceive and participate in any planning matter which deals with a larger area."[29] This is probably true of these first attempts at citizen participation, especially where information, education and communication were lacking in the predominantly underprivileged groups. This concept of education will be evaluated later.

Not only must the citizen be given time to work through sections of a program at a rate which may sometimes be considered inefficient, but he must also be included in a program at crucial points. In CAP and MCP, he was excluded from the proposal stage, when goals were formulated and presented, which took its toll on the numbers of interested citizens. Not only should the citizens be part of the planning process from the beginning, but as Burke states: "A basic principle is to work with the resident on each step."[30]

Education of participants is extremely important and had more attention been paid to it, CAP and MCP might have been spared considerable trouble. The time element was a factor in this lack of training, but the mandate for citizen participation did specify the need for sufficient information with adequate lead time, a standard clearly not adhered to. "Participation of the poor requires sustained training, information and technological assistance which the poor will accept and believe in."[31] Aleshire also claims that unfortunately, "the level of training and technical

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assistance required initially is almost as much as is needed for planning itself and is seldom provided."[32] Before citizens can reasonably participate in decision-making, they must be motivated to participate generally in local political life, the difficulty in implementation and the wider perspective that a politician must take. With this kind of preparation, citizens might not so easily have been coopted in the CAP nor so satisfied with consultation in the MCP, and the whole program would have been disturbed.

The next factor, which if corrected might strengthen participation, is the promise-delivery gap. Part of education would undoubtedly be an explanation of how and why such a gap exists between what powerholders say they will do and what actually gets done when. If a coordinated program of planning and action is not forthcoming, the basically short-sighted citizens will be quickly turned off.

> Planning assumes that problems, once identified, can be solved and solutions, once developed, can be implemented -- if the resources for implementation are not available [i.e., political element not inlcuded as in CAP or setbacks in funding as happened in CAP and MCP], the frustration of citizens rises.[33]

In CAP, "the poor might not have been frustrated so soon had the opportunity for participation never been offered."[34] However, because the opportunity for participation is just as often demanded as offered, a mechanism for overcoming the promise-delivery gap is imperative.

Often the reason for participation in the first place (and certainly in MCP and CAP) was to achieve the goals of antipoverty and a better life for the poor. If satisfaction of these goals of participation is a prime target, then the promise-delivery gap is a major risk.

There are two alternatives to ameliorating this problem. Firstly, before participation begins, there must be the assurances of coordinated action between planning and implementation such that participants' needs and subsequent plans receive immediate attention. It is difficult to determine how feasible this alternaitve would be in light of the centralization exhibited by the American government and the emergent hierarchical structure through which plans must be sanctioned. The other alternative, while not as attractive, is at present more feasible. Implementation is a long drawn-out process for the most part, and if citizens can recognize this, then perhaps they will accept the time lag involved. There is a need to understand, as Aleshire states, that "issues are more clearly identified and decision-making is somewhat more obvious in a planning process than in its execution."[35] This certainly makes working within the present political system easier. Unfortunately, neither alternative was utilized in these programs and the frustration over this gap grew and, in the process, thwarted participation.

One of the reasons for participation in the first place, as outlined in Chapter I, was to shorten the planning process. Although others have insisted that participation is ineffective and time consuming, so are present planning practices wherein opposition to plans formulated by powerholders may hold plans in abeyance for at least as long as giving citizens a chance to join in planning in the first place would have taken. If indeed participation can be improved, such that citizens in conjunction with planners can quickly eliminate some alternatives and come to agreements on the remainder, perhaps this gap between planning and implementation can be shortened. Powerholders could more boldly execute plans knowing that citizen backlash has already been eliminated. This does not, however, eliminate the hierarchy through which plans must pass before implementation in the American political system.

The results of these programs were not impressive. Poverty was not abolished and life was not made much more tolerable or pleasant. However, Strange points out that it is both irresponsible and incorrect to judge citizen participation by the extent to which these goals were achieved. "The failure to attain these goals is the result of an insufficient commitment ot the attainment of them. It is not a failure of citizen participation."[36]

If these physical goals were not achieved, was anything? Yes, calims Strange:

> Essential organizations for the furtherance of interest of poor and minority groups and to their rights and protection were established. ...Regular channels of contact between government and citizens not normally consulted by government have been established.[37]

It is in this broadening of the provision for organizing and communication that citizen participation may have had its most important impact. At the same time, as Strange continues:

> No local government or power structure has fallen, or has ever been seriously altered by the advent of citizen participation. There has been no redical change in the distribution of influence power, services rendered or other benefits.[38]

Despite Strange's reservations, the CAP and MCP programs exhibit a number of problems, which if overcome, could open the way for more effective citizen participation. The goals of antipoverty and a better life were achieved to some degree but, by and large, they do not seem to have generated any strong commitment to their attainment (by the powerholders). It also seems evident from the review literature that there was no serious commitment to citizen participation itself, and that this may be just as much to blame for the failure of the programs. Cooptation in either form is not considered to be very valuable participation. Consultation, while more valuable, still retains power in the hands of the powerholders. The reluctance to embark upon a sharing of control subsequently met with reluctance on the part of the citizens to participate and, consequently, made it difficult to attain goals. Understandably, but unfortunately, the structure for participation and the subsequent outcomes of participation were fed through existing political power processes. The type of participation then, was probably a key factor in the failure to reach the goals of the programs.

BRITISH EXAMPLES

In Britain, the unitary form of government evolved rather easily in the small, relatively homogenous country. However, the programs of the Labour Party since 1945 and the subsequent extension of central government and supervision over local government has led to an anxious concern over local self-government in Britain.

One of the major peices of literature anywhere on participation was published in Britain in 1969. This is People and Planning: Report of the Committee on Public Participation in Planning, which resulted from an inquiry to determine how best to enact the participatory intentions of the new Town and Country Planning Act of 1968. Its impact, while significant in discussions of participation, has yet to be assessed with respect to specific applications. Since, however, there are examples of participation programs in Britain which the committee (known after its chairman as the Skeffington Committee) examined in formulating its recommendations, it may be best to examine these first.

The Wheatly Example

The frist example, a case study from Oxfordshire described by J. M. Simmie, involved neither a violent reaction to an already established plan, nor an opportunity for participation presented by a government. Rather, it was an attempt to formulate a needed community plan through leadership by a community interest group.

In the mid 1960's, Wheatly, a small village outside Oxford, was feeling the pressure from the latter's growing but confined population. The Parish Council, pressed by this growth and exasperated by the County Council's delay in producing a plan for the guidance of development in their village, commissioned one of their own. The Parish Council hoped to generate interest and participation from all sectors of Wheatly's population. Since this was neither reaction to nor an invitation for participation in a planning study, it does not easily fit into the range of typologies cited earlier.

The ends of participation, while defined as the development of a plan, were not discussed again in Simmie's article. Its greater significance is its verification of the feeling, in both general government practices and in the newer process of participatioy government, that it is the minority who rule. In regular political processes, the minority rule through representative government. In participatory government, it is felt that those who participate are those with the most to gain or the most to lose -- again, often, a definite minority.

Simmie found that three groups engaged in the development of the Wheatly plan. The leaders, who comprised five percent of the population, worked to stimulate the development of a plan. The actives, ten percent of the population, helped more that they guided. The passives, thirty-eight percent of the population, were aroused only when a controversy arose. The rest of the population appeared totally uninterested and were uninvolved.

It so happened that the white collar workers, a definite minority in the community, also formed the majority of the leaders. This was not so surprising, since they probably had the advantages of time, political ability and techniques. Skilled workers, who constituted the greatest percentage of the local population, surprisingly did not constitute the greatest number of participants. This role fell to unskilled manual workers, leading Simmie to the following conclusion:

> Participation in local government becomes disproportionately a matter for social minorities at opposite ends of the social class spectrum, often with conflicting interests.[39]

The question posed here, then, is whether to advocate participative government which, while acting on desires and needs, may not be all that representative. The simplest answer is that participative government is good if the widest possible representation has been achieved. The problem with reactionary participation or, as in the above case, interest groups' attempts at developing plans, is that there is no one to check on the representativeness of that view. The groups think little about whether they are representatives of the community; they feel they are at least more representative than their elected servants (though they may indeed represent more points of view that the participating group).

If a community feels that their representatives are not meeting their needs, they have two courses of action. They can vote for someone else in the next election, or they can make sure that if they engage in reactive participation, their group is representative of the whole community; otherwise, they are likely to run into confrontation with other interest groups.

The Rhondda Valley Example

The second British example is one which was publicly undertaken but still encountered many difficulties. The example concerns public participation in the Rhondda Valley in Glamorgan County, Wales, and is described by Walker and Rigby.[40]

Rhondda, a community occupying a central position within the South Wales mining valleys has been in a general state of physical and population decline since 1923, when major mining interests moved elsewhere. In 1968, before the Skeffington Report, the Glamorgan County Council entered into a special planning study for the area with special reservation on the final report pending the opinions and recommendations of the citizens of the area.

A series of early reports on special subjects were prepared for distribution and discussion. Two major reports for the proposal, an interim and a final report, were to be accompanied by public meetings. The interim report was discussed at eight public meetings in 1969. The comments from these were to be utilized in preparing the final report which also went through an extensive series of public meetings, displays and lectures. Special effects, such as portable displays and films on proposed plans, although allowing little discussion, were considered excellent "scene setters" for later discussion.

As was hoped, many organizations formed to react to the plans. Action groups wanted changes. Interest groups (emerging out of the Skeffington Report) later formed to generate a continuing interest and information programs in secondary schools.

The authors cite several criticisms of the program. First, the information was not widely enough publicized nor were the public meetings. The authors therefore felt that the "silent majority" had not been canvassed. As they suggest: "Community participation should spring, not just from delegates of local societies, but from the general populace."[41] A second criticism was that much time in public meetings was spent in discussion of very narrow issues. While this is difficult to avoid, perhaps a wider pre-meeting publicity program may have helped. Further, had citizens been included earlier, the specific issues might have been cleared away before the public was asked to address itself to the plan. This might also have provided time to educate citizens to think generally about planning issues, thus avoiding the later criticism that the plan was too narrow in focus.

The authors gave the program a positive score for its subsequent treatment of public opinion. They agree, as does the Skeffington Report, that the public should be told what their representations have achieved.

Walker and Rigby conclude by making a few suggestions. For a more equitable analysis of meetings, they would like to see one person, with participative expertise, running the whole program. The feeling for the meeting can then be more quickly and accurately assessed. A second suggestion is that the use of consultants to draw up proposals might lead to less hostility then if a public authority were to draw them up. The feeling is that a consultant's report would be more objective.

The one issue that neither the program instigators nor the critique mentioned was the place of citizen representation in the official planning process. If the program were to be typecast on the evidence here, it would appear that the initiators wished the citizens to be little more than a sanctioning agent which falls into the "manipulation" category. However, it may be unfair to tag the program with this label because, while good intentions may have been present, knowledge of effective methodologies may not have been. It appears, here, that factors relating to the conduct of the program were more important then the type of participation involved.

The Skeffington Report

While the Skeffington Report was commissioned to present ways of carrying out the intentions of the new Town and Country Planning Act, it also provides considerable points of contrast with the previous programs that have been cited. As outlined in the Report:

> The Committee on Public Participation in Planning was appointed in March 1968 to consider and report on the best methods, including publicity, of securing the participation of the public at the formative stage in the making of devleopment plans of their area.[42]

The Town and Country Planning Act of 1968 requires local planning authorities to involve the public in the plan-making process. The immediate task of the Skeffington Committee was to suggest practical ways in which these authorities could best implement the relevant parts of the Act, thus enabling people to contribute their ideas while plans were being prepared for their home areas.

The Town Planning Institute analysed the Skeffington Report in the February, 1970 issue of their Journal. They state that the value of the Skeffington Report lies in its analysis and discussion of the problems of participation as much as, if not more than, in their specific recommendations. They also point out that the Committee was to accept citizen participation as settled policy and that it should take place in the formative stages of planning.[43]

The Skeffington Report was commissioned because previous attempts at participation had not shown any substantial results. The Report gives two general explanations for this. One is that information giving, the first and comparatively easiest part of participation, has had more success than involving citizens and therefore comprised the largest area of participation to date. Secondly, efforts to involve the public have come after proposals were almost cut and dried, leaving citizens feeling powerless and antagonistic towards the plan. As the Skeffington Report states: "There is a strong disinclination to alter proposals which have been taken so far; but from the public's point of view, the opportunity to comment has come so late that it can only be an opportunity to object."[44] The representatives of the community are then regarded as antagonists rather than as representatives trying to offer goodwill.

In discussing how to remedy the failings of previous participation programs, Skeffington refers to the two sectors of ~~the~~ community voice that are needed for effective participation. If participation was only to be concerned with those who are actively interested and organized, it would not be all that difficult to secure. Moreover, thier interest might be focussed on a particular feature of a plan which could be altered quickly. However, even if they are vigorous, well-organized and expert, their participation amounts to little more that informal cooptation or staff-supplement. "If official recognition is to be given at all," the Skeffington Report states, "it would be wrong to give it to any organization which represents only one of the multitude of interests affected by a plan."[45]

If, on the other hand, participation is to be concerned with the multitude of interests affected by a plan, not only will the scope of participation be widened but so will the scope of the plan. Participaiton suddenly becomes concerned with the second major segment of the community, the non-joiners and inarticulate from whom a response should be drawn. Of course, even if they can be made to participate, their outlooks may be just as narrow as those of the active groups. The plans to be discussed, which may affect the whole of their community and even extend beyond it, will have to be considered in light of their sectional or local interests. This, observes the Skeffington Committee, creates a grave dilemma for planners: while being responsive to sectional interests, planning must be concerned with a wider context involving the quality of the "whole environment and of any planned changes in it."[46]

In an attempt to take these points into consideration, the Skeffington Committee referred to one of the main postulates of the White Paper on Town and Country Planning which preceded the new Planning Act. The White Paper outlined a planning process substantially different from the existing one. It proposed that,

> ...the new development plan for each local planning authority will contain two parts, namely a structure plan and local plans.[47]

The Report goes on to note,

> Structure plans will expose the strategy of an area; local plans will show in detail how policies and general proposals are to be implemented. It will be at this stage that the individual will be able to see how his property is to be affected. Unless people are to be involved in formulating these local plans, there is the prospect of far greater antagonism when the general principles of the structure plans are discussed.[48]

This differs significantly from conventional planning processes in which area-wide objectives are generally assumed to be relevant at the local area scale. Moreover, conventional planning rarely included citizens, but even when it did, the area-wide objectives were likely to be too far removed from their immediate concerns. The division of planning into local and structure plans allowed and encouraged the non-joiner to participate in planning that with which he is most familiar, his local area. It also allows local representatives to see quickly what is desired in the total area, so permitting them to carry out some of the suggestions while participation is still going on, and giving participants the encouragement to continue. As pointed out in the Skeffington Report: "It will show that planning and participation produce results which will provide incentive for future participation."[49] Once citizens are confident about participating locally, they may feel more confident about participation in the preparation of structure plans. Not only has the citizen been educated in how to participate, but he has also managed to produce plans along the way and may provide continuity between local area and structure plans.

The next issue for the Skeffington Committee was to consider how the public would be involved. In particular, they favoured the notion of bringing groups "together in a community forum for corporate discussion so that there might be a cross-fertilization of ideas and a wider realization of the problems of an area ~~as~~ a whole."[50] The forum would thus bring together the active units of the community, including the organized special interest groups whose resources could be put to use to perform some administrative services, in the belief that "the public are far more likely to make representation and feel that they have contributed if they have undertaken some of the activities in processes of publicity and participation."[51]

Suggestions for organized groups assistance include the following:

- to assist in the formation of neighbourhood groups

- to organize meetings for discussions among groups
- to help individuals and local organizations identify others with similar interests
- to help in the consideration of proposals and eliminate any duplication of effort in similar activities
- to act as a central point of correspondence and as a progress monitor to remind organizations of the time for comment.[52]

The Town Planning Institute, in its report, "Observations on Skeffington", criticizes the concept of community forums, saying they should be more permanent and should function on a democratic basis of election and responsibility.[53] If Skeffington were to counter-argue, no doubt the wide-ranging representativeness implicit in the recommendations and the avoidance of cumbersome electoral machinery would tip the balance back in favour of forums. Indeed, the criticism may have been more valid for the prevailing planning procedure, in which members of the public were coopted to serve on planning committees. While this involved the benefits of cooptation as outlined in the typologies earlier, the Report also noted several disadvantages. Since the number of possible cooptations was limited by statute, it was difficult to determine who should be thus favoured. There was no guarantee that those excluded would be heard, and last, a point to which the Institute referred, many consider it wrong that those not answerable to the general public should make decisions on the community's behalf.[54] For these reasons, the Skeffington Report would not recommend cooptation.

Who is to involve the citizens is yet another point to be considered here. The idea of advocate planners has been discussed, as has the idea of citizen action committees in which citizens organize and react to a plan. If protest to plans is to be avoided, not just to avoid antagonism but so that less threatening and emotional methods can be used to ameliorate planning problems, the opportunity for citizen participation should come from the public authorities as a sincere attempt to make planning more responsive and representative.

The Skeffington Report does not consider that a special branch should be set up in the planning department to handle participation. The participative efforts should permeate everyone's work.[55] It is thought, too, that the planner should not become the intermediary between politicians and public, but someone who proposes alternatives based on public suggestions. The politician has a role here as well; to explain the political implications of technical advice to the public.[56]

Unfortunately, the mere opportunity to participate will not generate the results that are desired. For informed comment, better public knowledge of planning and of the issues is needed. The Skeffington Report therefore argues that citizens should be educated about planning through their involvement in it from the local issue stage to the structure plan stage. Their knowledge of the issues, on the other hand, will need to be imparted to them through a number of channels and in a number of different ways. While the concentration on this aspect of participation was earlier seen as one of the reasons for the dearth of results in participation programs, it remains the most important component of participation. Without knowledge of planning and issues, citizens cannot hope to put forth informed comment and planners and politicians will disregard their recommendations to the ultimate detriment of planning and, more importantly, in the present stage of citizen involvement, to the whole future of participation. In the words of the Skeffington Committee, the whole "process of participation is dependent upon an adequate supply of information to the public."[57] Planning should therefore utilize the press, advertising, broadcasts (T.V. and radio), exhibitions and above all, the distribution of publications which "will inform the public of proposals and opportunities to comment and will enable those who want to do so to participate in depth."[58]

There are four main occasions on which the Committee feels that substantial efforts to make information available are demanded. The first is the official announcement of the program, to give citizens a chance to see how they are to be involved. The next comes with the reports on the surveys of needs. This gives citizens a chance to see if the objectives of the planners are in concert with their own. Jackson, in The Urban Future, says Skeffington feels that planning objectives in Britain are accepted and implicit, and that consultation is sought only on alternative means of attainment.[59] From this, Jackson argues that objectives need to be examined as well, a point the Skeffington would probably agree with. The fact that the Report recommends that objectives be surveyed (even though this may not be a citizen survey) implies that they are not taken as given. As well, planners are to formulate objectives based on comment from citizens, and not just on technical feasibility.

The third occasion for intense information dissemination is to publicize the identification of the available choices. It is not presumptuous at this point, according to Skeffington, for the authority to state a favoured alternative and to give reasons, for they will have gathered considerable opinion on which to base their choice. After further discussion, information dissemination should once again be intensified with a statement of the public's favoured proposals. This, according to Skeffington, is the key document in participation and should receive the widest distributions for comment. Together with the third step, this is felt to be the most suitable occasion for making intensive efforts to secure participation.

When the Skeffington Report is compared with other material reviewed in this thesis, it appears that the program and process described by the Committee could be very effective if carried out with more intense participation from the beginning. In this way, those who merely wished to expand on personal or local concerns could do so and be heard at the appropriate time. Those who are more interested in continuing in participation or in broader issues would have the opportunity as well, without being hampered by a surge of local grievances brought out towards the end of a program. As well, rather than an emotional mob attacking everything in a plan, the inclusion of as wide a range of citizens as possible in the first place should shield authotities against such an outburst later on.

Another concern of the Skeffington Report to be discussed here is that of timing. Too often, time constraints have not been recognized and programs have been left unfinished. As Skeffington notes:

> Two conflicting factors stand out in the consideration of the amount of time to be spent on participation activities; they are the need for organizations to be given adequate time to consider material and the need to ensure that needless discussion does not frustrate action.[60]

The committee recommends two lines of approach:

- an overall timetable showing target dates by which major stages in the parparation of the plan would be reached
- the time available for comment should be made clear when the public are consulted

The last area of the Report to be discussed is that of the responsibility for planning. It is stated that the responsibility for preparing a plan is and must remain that of the local planning authority. Similarly, then, the authority for directing the information flows controlling the procedures of participation at this level must also be vested in the local governments. The Town Planning Institute is concerned, however, that the Report did not propose a sufficiently broad and democratic basis of decision-making at the local level. The Institute feels that "increased public participation in planning as in other local government services should be sought primarily through the strengthening of the structure and organization of local government."[61] The alternative could be disastrous since the central government is "not immune from the risk that representative government might disintegrate in the face of mounting pressure from government by referendum."[62]

The fears of the diminishing power of local self-government in Britain are not allayed by the Skeffington Report. Although a useful role for local government can be inferred from the Report, there is a real concern that participation may become less and less meaningful as a centralized government becomes more and more prominent. Participation without a redistribution of power is meaningless so unless British authorities distribute more control to local government, the powerlessness at that level will be reflected in a lack of participation. As Skeffington would no doubt agree, without participation at this level, it is unlikely that participation at a broader level would be representative or effective.

CANADIAN EXAMPLES

Whereas the United States experience in participation tends to reflect, at best, a regional or more often, a national focus, and the British examples have a predominantly local tone, with comment by Skeffington on a national level, the Canadian experiences reflect a range. This analysis will dwell on national (e.g., Agricultural Rehabilitation and Development Administration), regional (e.g., The Canada-British Columbia Okanagan Basin Study), and local (e.g., Annex Ratepayers Association of Toronto) levels of participation and the future for each level, given the Canadian political scene and other local factors.

Agricultural Rehabilitation and Development Administration

One of the earliest programs in Canada which had even a hint of citizen participation in its mandate was the Agricultural Rehabilitation and Development Administration (ARDA). The contents of this program are well laid out in the resolution to the House of Commons on January 25th, 1961, by the then-Minister of Agriculture, the Honourable Alvin Hamilton.

In summary, the objectives of ARDA were to provide income and employment opportunities and to improve the use and exploration of natural resources in those rural areas in Canada suffering from adjustment problems due to technological change. "It bears repeating," writes McCrorie, "and it is important to stress, that ARDA assumes that the larger urban industrial society is an acceptable objective. The larger society is not questioned; it is described as being 'well-organized and generally effective'."[63] The report of the Canadain Council on Rural Development states:

> One of the main concepts involved in the ARDA agreement is that of self-help, which is, in part, an assumption which follows from assumptions concerning planning and the BNA Act and states that people, given the proper opportunities, can help themselves and improve their conditions of existence. But the notion of self-help is more than as assumption about the human beast. It is part of a larger plan which envisions the active participation of people in pojects designed to improve their standard of living -- projects we hasten to add, which they may help to design and implement.[64]

The amended ARDA legislation, which effected a general agreement from 1962 to 1965, did not spell out the concept of self-help. However, according to the former Minister of Agriculture, it was clearly intended. The agreement states that a province may propose a comprehensive rural development plan for a designated rural development area in "consultation with, and with the advice of, rural development committees composed of local citizens from the areas affected."[65] This is more than a provision of opportunities. It gives people a choice, and under the

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1966 Federal Rural Economic Development agreements which were to work in concert with ARDA, this choice was given legal sanction as follows: "It is within the power of local citizens to withhold their consent and thereby postpone or thwart a comprehensive rural development program."[66]

The legislation and the inferences of the legislation appear exceedingly generous: alternative choices, citizen involvement, an opportunity to affect conditions close to home (such as income and employment opportunities), and actual citizen veto or programs. On the surface, this program appears as a breakthrough for the advocates of citizen participation. If is was categorized as a citizen participation type, it could be called "partnership". since citizens would always be working with provincial and federal governments, and through their agencies.

The vulnerability of the concept is not so apparent, although it exists. According to McCrorie,

> Firstly, ARDA is designed to deal in many cases with those who are poor but enjoy or endure a culture of poverty -- a way and style of life appropriate to the economic relations resulting in poverty. If we may use an agrarian example, the work experiences of the poor do not lend themselves to planning and formal organizational activity associated with some as readily as those of the agrarian middle class. This is not to dismiss the task as impossible; it is, rather, to admit that it is and will be difficult.
>
> Secondly, social and economic planning is, after all, a complex and demanding activity. It includes a perspective or frame of mind, research, information, the capacity and ability to examine, sort out, analyse, and integrate information and possible projects arising from same. It goes without saying

> that education, training and experience are indispensable to sound and effective social and economic planning. To what extent then, can local individuals become involved in the planning process? The question here is not one of involvement and participation; it is a question of degree.[67]

It was mentioned in the legislation that the federal government would enter into agreements with the provincial governments. While this is a good example of the decentralization of government activities in Canada, the provincial ligislation varied greatly and it is therefore difficult to reach conclusions about the program at large. According to McCrorie:

> Some of the legislation is brief and permissive; other provincial acts are involved and more specific. In any event, there does not appear to be any relationship between the presence and provisions of legislation on the one hand and performance and programming on the other. For example, the Saskatchewan legislation makes specific provision for community involvement and participation in the ARDA process; the Ontario legislation attempted to involve the local community; no comparable development has taken place in Saskatchewan.[68]

The results of the ARDA program are to be seen over the entire country, in water and land conservation areas, and in altered land uses and land use practices. However, it is not generally believed that the prime purposes of ARDA have been realized -- the rise in incomes and opportunities in these marginal areas has not followed, nor, for that matter, has there been involvement of low income families in the planning process.

The conclusions of the *Report of the Canadian Council of Rural Development* suggest some of the inherent problems in the program and their results.

> The data question the assumption that the local population in rural development regions will become involved in the planning process....They suggest rather, that involvement, where and when it is encouraged, tends to be confined to individuals who have a productive, stable and rewarding relationship to the economy and community, and the question of involving low income families in the planning process has been postponed, not resolved.[69]

It was also assumed that, even if indigenous leaders did comprise the only initial participaiton, the activities of the groups would gradually expand to include the poorer members of the community. If anything, however, McCrorie claims the gulf between the actives and inactives has widened, if for no other reason than the further experience gained by active members. As pointed out in Working Paper No. 5 of the Ontario Committee On Government Productivity:

> Participation might also increase rather than counteract political inequalities existing in our society. Those who already know will know more; those who already express their opinion will express them more effectively.[70]

The initial good feeling about "partnership" between citizens and governments in devising solutions to the problems of needy areas quickly waned. The mode of involvement changed to what might be described as informal cooptation, the inclusion of persons with sufficient resources or influence (either by invitation or by their intrusion) to vitally affect the operation of the organization. Again, however, it may not have been a fault of the program that the poor were not included but that a false assumption about their desire and/or ability to participate was made. How, then, does one involve a low income family in the planning process, a family that, as McCrorie notes, "...has no experience with rational planning in the home, that is a stranger to the activities and experiences of formal, voluntary organizations in the community, that displays little habit for the postponement of the satisfaction of immediate needs."[71]

It is said that people will react and participate when the situation becomes intolerable. But even if such a situation arises, people must have the facility to take advantage of it. If, as stated above, people are missing these basic understandings and faculties to deal with organization, what is to be done? The answer, according to the ARDA philosophy, "...should be the involvement of the regional poor in a new network of relationships and experience that erode the social and economic underpinnings of what we may call a culture of poverty."[72] It may be that poverty is more than just the outward manifestations of lack of money. Indeed, poverty may have psychological underpinnings which, if it is to be alleviated, "requires designating methods and opportunities of defining one's situation; new habits and new skills."[73]

Okanagan Basin Study

The next portion of the discussion on Canadian experiences will deal with two regional examples in which I was personally involved. The first is the Canada-British Columbia Okanagan Basin Study and the other is the Province of Alberta Task Force on Urbanization and the Future.

The Canada-British Columbia Okanagan Basin Agreement of October, 1969 had as its purpose the development of a comprehensive framework plan for the development and management of water resources for the social betterment and economic growth of the Okanagan Basin. The terms of reference of the study included

> g) public involvement as required, to enable a comprehensive plan to be truly responsive to the wishes of the people for which it is designed while reflecting the characteristics of the people in the Okanagan Valley and surrounding regions.[74]

It seems only fair to give credit for the formulation of this proposal to the local area residents with whom the concern for water management frist arose. In 1965, the Kelowna and District Executive Committee for Okanagan Pollution Control was created, comprising municipal officials and local representatives of the senior governments. In 1966, representatives from ten major Okanagan communities were invited to become involved, a move which led to the creation of the Okanagan Watershed Pollution Control Council in 1966. From this grew the Okanagan Water Basin Board in May, 1969, which consisted mostly of officials from three levels of government. It was in this climate of increasing public awareness and concern about water quality and water quantity management that the Canada-British Columbia Okanagan Basin Agreement was enacted.

A great part of the study was devoted to technical and socio-economic analyses of hydrology, water quality and the relationships among water resources, economic growth and aesthetic values. Much more than technical input was desired, though:

> It was also recognized from the beginning of this study, that planning cannot be undertaken in a vacuum, insulated from the residents of the Okanagan Basin. Because the study involves such critical questions as the type of life-style sought by the Okanagan community, the balance between environmental quality and economic growth and effective ways of utilizing the water resources, the Okanagan public had to be involved directly in the planning process.[75]

At the same time, the Okanagan citizens were not given any real decision-making power. Their participation was at the level of advice or consultation. However, despite Arnstein's and Burke's opinions about consultation, an attempt will be made here to show that it can lead to an effective program in terms of both means and ends.

Initial participation of citizens in this program was at best poor. Technicians attempted to ascertain the public's response to very sophisticated information. Traditional methods were used to evaluate public feelings (e.g., public meetings and questionnaires). The Final Report of the Consultative Board of the Okanagan Basin

Agreement briefly evaluates these early efforts. On the methods used, the report states:

> Both public meetings and questionnaire surveys exhibit important strengths and weaknesses as vehicles for soliciting public response to resource management issues. To some extent, the strengths of one compensate for the weaknesses of the other. Public meetings for example, generally attracted a limited cross-section of viewpoints and opinions from a community, whereas the random sample for the survey contacted a wide cross-section of opinion....The main disadvantages of a survey are that residents had little opportunity to ponder responses, had little or no information about many issues posed in the questionnaire and were not obliged to commit themselves to their replies.[76]

One advantage of this initial participation was that the public perceived the concept of comprehensive water resource planning in somewhat broader terms of reference that those included in the Oknanagan Agreement. The Study responded, in turn, by expanding the scope of the economic and land use studies which by then were recognized as integral parts of a water management study. As well, it came to be realized that if a comprehensive framework plan were to be evolved, closer ties and better communication with the citizens would be needed. The Board then launched into a innovative and comprehensive public involvment program.

The program was developed through trial and error by a number of consultants with different types of experiences and approaches. A preliminary study was undertaken to identify interest groups in the Valley and their possible affiliation with a participation program. These groups were then supplied with information and invited to attend a seminar in March, 1972. From this emerged a need for a much wider and more comprehensive cross-section of public input. The Okanagan Study Committee therefore drew up new terms of reference, which included the following major goal:

> To report to the Okanagan Study Committee, the preferences of the Okanagan Valley residents for the furture development and management of the basin's water resources, based on their studied consideration of the economic, social and environmental implications of the various alternatives.[77]

Three major components of the program were than identified:

1. To assimilate the results of various technical studies conducted under the Okanagan Basin Agreement;
2. To acquire, through cooperative involvement with the evaluation team, a thorough understanding of water management alternatives for the Okanagan Basin;
3. To develop positive interaction between the Valley residents and the Study Committee such that residents become meaningfully involved in the study while the Committee becomes aware of the perspectives of the residents.[78]

Although differing little in terms of power to citizens from the initial legislation, the consultation now envisioned gave hope for improving both the quality and the quantity of participation. The process utilized was as Interest Based Planning Model (a phrase coined by the Alberta Task Force on Urbanization and the Future and refined in the work of the Okanagan Basin Study, see Figure 5).

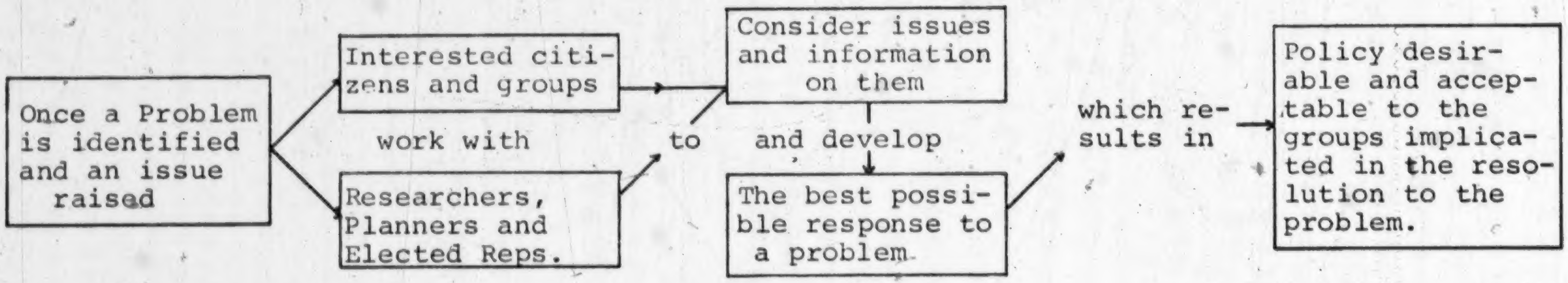
Once a Problem is identified and an issue raised
Interested citizens and groups
work with
Researchers, Planners and Elected Reps.
to
Consider issues and information on them
and develop
The best possible response to a problem
which results in
Policy desirable and acceptable to the groups implicated in the resolution to the problem.

Figure 5

Interest Based Planning Model*

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*Developed by Michel Chevalier and suggested for use by the Task Force on Urbanization and the Future, 1971.

"The main purpose of the model was to bring together a wide range of community interest groups and their resources to participate in the development of the framework plan."[79] These interest groups covered those identified in the preliminaty survey, plus local political structures, private corpoarations and concerned individuals.

A four month information campaign was followed by the establishment of six community task forces made up of representatives from the above groups and located at convenient points within the Okanagan Valley. Information on the technical aspects of the study and the alternatives available for planning was presented to these groups over a six month period, after which a combined task force (with selected members from each of the other six) was established. It reviewed and revised the recommendations of the earlier task forces. Along with this, to make sure the recommendations did reflect the feelings and values of the larger community, a general public education program was carried out involving the dissemination of information and consideration of public response.

Several mechanisms were used to obtain as broad a coverage of information as possible. Translating technical information into lay terms was a most important first step. Audio-visual presentations. speaking engagements and high-school programs were used extensively to assist task force work.

The most innovative and successful mechanism utilized here was the task force approach. First, it brought together people of different areas of the Valley and induced them to work for a common goal. Second, it intorduced public officials to residents on a one-to-one basis and substituted a "consensus" work ethic for the "attack and defence process" which had previously prevailed. As well, public officials were able to consider the proposals as they were made and, where they reflected a particularly local area bias, officials could incorporate them into their planning. This often meant that results were obtained more quickly than from the broader, longer range focus of most of the suggestions and gave some incentive for citizens to continue participating.

The most important suggestion for citizen participation coming out of this program was the necessity for a systematic and comprehensive exchange of views on all aspects of an issue with a broad range of public interest groups and individuals.

Even though this program could still be called consultation, even after the legislative revision, it is one example of very successful participation. Perhaps its success could be measured not by the physical results it achieved, although they are now occurring, but by the fact that task force members voted to continue such a dialogue as a check on recommendations after the study was completed.

Another factor which probably contributed to the success of this program was its duration. The task at hand was to be executed through a participation program that was to last about nine months. Citizens were well aware of this time frame and attempted to work within it. Actually, the time was short and people had to work fast. Rather than dragging the program out to the point where participants tired of it, it may actually have pressed some members too hard. Even so, it was felt that the short, compact and somewhat highly charged program was very successful. Another bonus for the citizen participation in the Okanagan Basin Study was that it was not prematurely cut short by government, or suddenly restricted in funding or the amount of participation. It was felt that the citizens were able to participate with the confidence that anyone who wished could be heard, that information was readily available and that they could finish the task set out.

Even though consultation was the height of power achieved by citizens in this program, the fact that citizen participation was an integral part of the program meant that citizens were treated equally with technical staff and public officials in recommending solutions to the issues. None of these participants in the program really made the final decisions, but decision-makers primarily act on advice from their counsels who indeed had an ear trained on the recommendations of this program. In a sense, then, the feeling of power was almost as good as the power itself.

Task Force on Urbanization and the Future

The second regional example to be discussed here is the Alberta Task Force on Urbanization and the Future, a provincially funded program started in the spring of 1971 to look at the problems of rapid urbanization in Alberta. It was hoped originally that federal funding might expand the capabilities of the Task Force, but its early demise excluded that possibility.

After a suggestion by the Alberta premier, in 1968, that there be a major study of the future of urban life in the province, a proposal for an Interest Based Planning Strategy was worked out and accepted by the legislature.

> Under this procedure, once a problem is identified or an issue raised, the relevant interest group, working with the assistance of researchers and planners and under the general direction of elected representatives, develop the best possible response to the problem, given the concerns of the various interest groups. In this way, the policy evolves out of what is desirable and acceptable to the interest groups of the community rather than flowing from the formulations of professionals who may be remote from those special interest groups that are implicated in the resolution of the particular problems.[80]

It is felt by some participation advocates that the imposition of areas of study (or issues to be discussed) from above thwarts effective participation -- that to be truly effective, citizens must identify their own problems. Initially, however, the Task Force preferred to identify major concerns with the help of local municipal officials so as to generate interest in participation which could then lead to the investigation of future issues of the citizens' choice. It was felt that rallying around a selected issue would be an easier starting place than approaching groups with nothing and asking for their concerns. Should this approach continue indefinitely, however, the advocates of unrecognized issues might easily be turned away from participation. Seaver, in his article, "The Dilemma of Citizen Participation", states that to ensure successful participation, a program needs to be flexible enough to respond to concerns other than those conceived in the original program format.[81]

Six issues were identified by the Alberta Task Force, and groups began work on them. Background papers were prepared for the participants and the general public, and task forces were established to study the issues and make recommendations to the government on urban policy. Various media, personal contact and wider public appeal devices were used to solicit opinion from the public, but the larger focus was on groups who might profess an interest in the issues at hand. While legislated as a consultative type of participation, the Task Force took on aspects of informal cooptation where those who could command a place on a particular task force, or those who had the most to gain or the most to lose, were included as part of the program to the exclusion of a broad representation.

Unfortunately, the three year mandate of the Task Force was cut short when the government was defeated in the election of 1971. The Task Force was to take on a much different focus after July, 1972, so any studies in progress had to be hurried to a finish while those not yet started had to be abandoned. Had time permitted, all groups would have examined their recommendations in relation to one another, in the expectation of improving the overall quality of their advice to government. Moreover, the early retirement of the program cut off any chance for citizens to raise other pressing problems for which these initial projects were forerunners.

In summary, the Task Force failed to reach the range of people it eventually hoped to include, and its recommendations (although useful and utilized to some extent), were too localized to be of much assistance in establishing provincial policy. Many of the general recommendations, however, related to participation and it is this which is of most value to this treatment of the subject. Besides advocating a provincial policy on growth and its distribution in Alberta, they established a felt need for strengthening regional planning and regional development structures and for creating regional governments of some kind to deliver a wide range of services. At the same time,

> Various task committees were concerned with the prospects for community and truly local government in Alberta - particularly if provincial policies

> are adopted and regional authorities are strengthened. Accordingly, they recommended such steps as reduction of special purpose boards, establishment of local development corporations in slow growth areas, and creation of community councils in large cities to fill the governmental gap at this level....It is at the local level that there is greatest opportunity for communication between citizens and government.82

It is obvious, then, that the citizens recognized the need for tougher and more strictly controlled growth policies but, at the same time, their involvement in the formulation of those policies was desired. The best means, they felt, was a strong regional government with decentralization as far as is useful in a local area. This was not a plea for citizen control of government but one for assurance of protection and representation.

Neighbourhood Improvement Program

The third portion of the discussion of Canadian participation experiences deals with local area examples, those concerned predominantly with a single municipal or small-area government. Since the examples to this point suggest that participation is most successful at a local level, it should be interesting to examine the success of some small scale programs.

The Neighbourhood Improvement Program, though in legislative terms a program designed by three levels of government for application throughout Canada, has had its greatest effect on the neighbourhoods of our large cities, though not everyone agrees on the sincerity of its political motives. Thus, the editors of Ctiy Magazine note:

> The social disruption caused by urban renewal as vigorously voiced by community groups, coupled with the huge financial commitments made to urban renewal, called for a new programme that would appease local neighbourhoods yet at the same time cause a considerable smaller dent in CMHC's profit margin. Thus what emerges is a sense that local communities are...being bought off with "tease money" at the same time as governments give a semblance of being concerned with inner-city problems. In short, NIP is a government programme designed to pacify social unrest at the least possible financial cost.[83]

City Magazine examined the program in the cities of Vancouver, Calgary and Toronto. In all three, citizens' groups had been active and were prepared to work hard with a program which gave them the opportunity to involve themselves with their most immediate concern, their local area. The main problem in all three cases was the difficulty experienced by local citizenry in dealing with bureaucracies at a number of levels. In Vancouver, the main block occurred at the municipal level since city officials decided when, where and how the program would be run. In Toronto, the problems were concentrated at the porvincial and federal levels, with diligent work by the City and citizens being denied approval while a similar proposal in Vancouver was accepted. In Calgary, all three levels of government frustrated the program. Here, a well organized neighbourhood found itself faced with immense bureaucratic stumbling.

Added to these problems, funds were being "poured into developing a process whereby citizens are encouraged to spend considerable time deciding on what their neighbourhood priorities should be,"[84] with no assurance that these priorities would be implemented or even listened to. With no redistribution of power and, if anything, less response to local area concerns because three levels of bureaucracies are involved, NIP is little more that therapy (a frustrating, anti-participative learning experience). Though NIP has achieved tangible results in many areas since its inceptopn, its contribution to effective participation is almost nil, because of the bureaucratic conflicts. "The fundamental problem with tri-level involvement," notes City Magazine, "seems to be that the original concept of a flexible, responsive municipality-based program has been lost."[85]

Other Local Area Examples

As cities are becoming increasingly large and their problems increasingly costly, many problems at even the neighbourhood level will need funding by provincial or federal governments. Does this mean we are saddled with their bureaucratic involvement as well as all the special problems of multi-level involvement? To answer this, the analysis will shift to other local area programs which have not involved multi-level bureaucracies and which have achieved some measure of success.

Most of the examples of citizen participation at a local level in Canada have been a reaction to, rather than an opportunity for, the preparation of a plan. An irate, often unorganized group has reacted to an intolerable situation through the type of participation which politicians usually find hardest to deal with and which engenders cries of unresponsiveness from citizens. Yet some of these groups have managed to achieve some of their ends.

Jacobs writes about the Toronto Annex Ratepayers Association, a group some 50 years old which alone, suggests some degree of success. The dominant theme of the Association throughout most of its history has been the determination to maintain the Annex as an inner-city residential area, despite obvious forces to the contrary. In the early 1950's, the Association attempted to promote community relations through public meetings and the publication of newsletters. They were even invited to assist in up-dating the city's Official Plan and Zoning By-law, thereby providing an instance of cooperative planning. In all, the Association has been able to rebuff the pressures for redevelopment quite satisfactorily, mainly through organization and use of "right of appeal", and force in numbers.

There are, however, some unique features of the Annex Ratepayers Association that should be considered:

> Because the Association represents a basically middle-class neighbourhood, with a range of educational and occupational levels among its citizens, it has had more access than is usual to information about what is happening in the city; it has had more resources available, such as funds for legal counsel; it had, over the years, amassed considerable knowledge and expertise regarding city by-laws, the process of lobbying and so on. As a

> result, the Association has always been treated with a certain amount of respect in official question, as a body that cannot be ignored.[86]

The absence of these factors in most groups was recognized in a 1970 study entitled Neighbourhood Participation in Local Government, a study of the City of Toronto, by the Bureau of Municipal Research. The report takes the postiion that neighbourhood groups should continue their function as organizations indigenous to their particular area and proposes ground rules for neighbourhood groups effectiveness:

1. Public funds for support of community organizations.
2. Access to information and expertise at both the municipal and provincial level.
3. Appointment of group representatives to committees of council when issues affecting that neighbourhood are considered.
4. The provision of meeting facilities, such as schools and community centres, where citizens may meet regularly with the aldermen.[87]

One important aspect of the Annex example is that the City of Toronto, in cooperating with the Association on the Official Plan and Zoning By-law, did not bring a ready-made plan to them but, rather, enlisted their help in developing a plan by making all information abailable to them. It is suggested, then, that citizens be involved from the beginning of a planning process. However, it must be remembered, as in the Alberta Task Force example, that unless there is something to react to initially, it is difficult to know where to begin or even to elicit participation.

This example illustrates an advisory or consultative participation type and falls short of decision-making. On the other hand, it shows how, with resources and a history of concern, an advisory group can be effective. Some groups, however, are not so resourceful. An example is described by Reynolds, in City Magazine.[88]

In 1972, a Halifax developer applied to the city to redevelop a section of an older area of the city to high-rise and commercial development. The development was passed in principle by City Council, not because of its merits for the area, but because, Reynolds infers, of their preoccupation with the economic implications of such a development for the city. In response, some residents formed an action committee to oppose the development on the grounds that it would destroy the peaceful, residential character of their area. Small concessions were made in the plan (e.g., a few floors were taken off the height of the building in exchange for more commercial space), but an appeal to Council to have the approval reversed was flatly refused.

The problem was not resolved when Reynolds wrote his artilce in 1974, but the intended development escalated citizen interest to the point where the entire municipal planning and political processes were undergoing public scrutiny. This is indeed a case where ends, while important, have taken a second place to means. It took a large intrusion into the life of an area to generate a review of processes over which citizens had no control. Though it is difficult to categorize examples of "citizens fighting back" as participation types, it usually means that a compromise is not acceptable. The public have been driven so far by unrepresenativeness and unresponsiveness that they will accept only their own options. This type of participation can only be described as reaction.

It is this reactive stance, as well as the complete lack of consideration by public officials, that advocates of citizen participation wish to avoid. They want some mechanism in planning that will remove the possibility of such unmoving confrontation. And their answer is citizens must be included from the beginning of a planning process. Aleshire says that "the unwillingness or inability to involve people from the first or preemption by others creates deadlocks later on."[89] This is certainly borne out by the above example.

Even if the development proposed is not especially detrimental to the area, residents may continue to oppose it because of the undemocratic way in which it was inflicted upon them. A solution to similar situations according to Loveday would be the inclusion of citizens in a more democratic way (more discussion and freedom for citizens to make suggestions). He writes, "The more democratic the procedures by which their decisions are raached they sometimes say, the less trouble they are likely to have when the bulldozers move in."[90] Even if a proposal may not be the best for all then, if citizens had a say in planning the development, it may pass with special concessions rather than being totally rejected for the wrong reasons (e.g., lack of consultation).

Richardson, in a discussion of participative democracy, compared two instances of participation, one in Montreal and the other in Toronto. The Montreal example concerns the rift between municipal officialdom and the citizen:

> A number of factors contributed to this, but it will suffice here that in Canada's largest city, the people on the far side of the gap were poor, and were segregated into quite well-defined and extensive areas which were uniformly old and physically decaying. They felt that so far as City Council was concerned, they were unwanted and ignored, and that they had no effective voice in the decisions which determined the future of the city as a whole and of their own neighbourhoods in particular.[91]

The council of French-Language Social Welfare Agencies brought the problem to the fore through a program known as Animation Sociale, whose mandate, loosely translated means, "The stimulation of local leadership and self-help in tackling local problems and in dealing with the official establishment."[92]

> There are three stages in the program:
>
> - the establishment of communications among the members of the group to permit an exhange of views and a definition of the broad outlines of their common situation and problem.
> - a definition of the goals.
> - an action program, which involves finding solutions to three basic problems: a resistance to concerted action, a reluctance to translate intentions into action and inadequacy of means to ends.

Included in this process is an animateur whose role is to stimulate community initiative and thereafter to supply guidance, information and ideas. This is the first example in this review of someone specifically assigned to work as an advocate of the people, to help them see their way through a tangle of red tape at the government bureaucratic level and through technical jargon at the information level. Although the use of a participation specialist to carry out participation programs has been mentioned before, it has been only in the sense of a mediator between citizens and government. This will be discussed in more detail later.

Some success has been achieved by the Montreal program in influencing official decisions on matters affecting the poor of the city. Its real significance however, lies in its success in enabling people prevoiusly excluded from influence in political decision-making "to gain a sense of being able after all to have some influence on the decisions of City Hall which affect their homes and lives."[93]

Surprisingly, the urban renewal schemes to be carried out through this program "encountered bitter opposition from the people in the renewal areas and the city was forced to do a complete re-examination."[94] The problem basically was two rather shaky assumptions.: one that people are willing and able to study and comprehend a long and complicated document that is pushed under the door and subsequently able to stand up in a meeting and comment on it: and second, that the wants and needs and opinions of people in an area are accurately reflected by the institutions and organization of the district. "It is completely unrealistic," says Richardson, "to assume that a plan had been fully understood and generally accepted merely because it has been widely distributed without causing violent demonstrations. Generally speaking, in fact, it is a reasonable hypothesis that people will not really understand a plan or identify with it unless they have had some active part to play in preparing it."[95]

The Urban Renewal Study for Toronto published in 1956 gave high priority to two areas: Alexandra Park and Kensington. The residents of Alexandra Park, after living for some time with deteriorating housing and obtaining no action on urban renewal, petitioned City Hall. Action was soon taken but the citizens then lost interest and, in the process, about one-third of their area was razed and redeveloped. "Regardless of the intrinsic merits of the scheme, it took very little account of the old area as a functioning community, or of the wishes of its residents as to what should be dome with it."[96]

In Kensington, meetings were organized to ask people what should be dome. With the help of planners, and a partnership type of participation (although neither group had the power to implement decisions), an Association was formed and undertook the preparation of objectives for neighbourhood improvement. An Urban Renewal Committee was also organized by City Council with six of the eleven menbers being local residents. In sharp contrast to the Animation Sociale program, the city and the local community then came together at two levels; in shared representation on the Urban Renewal Committee and in working cooperatively with the palnning staff. The opportunity for the residents to work with the city was rewarded by a generally cooperative attitude on both sides. From this example, it can be stated that the "participative democrat must share planning with the urban technologists and the politician."[97]

The greatest hurdle not yet discussed is the rift that will no doubt exist between the immediate local needs and interests of participative neighbourhoods and the long range synoptic views of planners in City Hall. As Jacobs states: "The type of citizen participation at the neighbourhood level and the city level will always be in conflict."[98] He further states, "The public interest may be viewed as a 'set of unitary conceptions' or 'individualistic conceptions'. It is this second conception that politicians and planners must recognise before effective planning can take place."[99]

Richardson feels that the solution to the problem cannot be found in ad hoc arrangements like the Kensington Urban Renewal Committee, although the Committee is considered as a very useful and encouraging step. Clague, by contrast, defends ad hoc participation: "Citizen participation should occur through a dynamic movement into and out of government spheres; the engagement being determined by whatever needs and interests are current at any given time."[100] Perhaps those in government would then be more visible and therefore more responsible in their political actions and consequently subject to more immediate censure, removal or approbation.

Selznick, in his evaluation of the Tennessee Valley Authority, feels that an ad hoc group "neither has the unity of command nor continuity of policy to be an effective part of the policy determining structure of a program. It is merely involved in determining general directives which responsible officials of the agency will evaluate."[101] Richardson's solution to this is the establishment of neighbourhood councils; a decentralization of the control of programs aimed at helping the local area to help itself. "This would provide a channel of communication between citizens and the government and would provide the people of the neighbourhood some degree of direct control over the actions and discussion which directly affected that neighbourhood."[102] The type of citizen participation envisioned by Richardson is a limited citizen control, that of delegated power, but he implies that this can only be done at a local level and that to attempt it at a regional or provincial level would be inviting control over matters not of immediate interest to or within the understanding of the citizens.

At any rate, Richardson and others have noted the necessity to accept that we have to have big governments to run certain aspects of local life, but that the social wants and needs of citizens often cannot be recognized by professional civil servants and technical specialists. They are not asking for another level of government, for legislative or jurisdictional powers are not seen as redistributed here, but a personalization(a person-centered society, as outlined in Chapter I) of citizen involvement within the framework of government.

Through the creation of metropolitan governments in Manitoba and Ontario, it is coming to be recognized that the technical and administrative needs of today's complex urban society cannot be met by government structures that were established in a rural Canada and have simply been extended, with little change, to a largely urban Canada. And yet, even these moves have not completely solved the problems of our cities, perhaps because the necessary processes are not properly understood. In Winnipeg's unitary government, for example, citizen participation was institutionalized in the form of Resident Advisory Groups. The Groups have been relatively ineffective because as one critic savs, "...thev had no independent activity."[103] Another critic, and a Group member, states taht they have "no legislative authority and funding and as such, tend to develop criticism to proposals in an ad hoc way without ever taking the initiative themselves."[104]

These Canadian examples have shown that while participative efforts have not produced substantial results, in terms of physical planning achievements, programs have been tried at all levels of government. Moreover, it appears that the political ideologies which decide the direction of palnning may be subject to change as a result of the participative experience. This is only possible through Canada's basically federalist approach and the division of constitutional powers at different levels of government. If the attempt to decentralize power continued (as in the trend towards regional governments and metropolitan governments) the meshing of political constituencies and the concept of participation should be very much easier than, say, in the centralized system of the United States (where the powers vested in the central government are much greater than in Canada which makes it more difficult for government to appreciate and respond to local area conditions) or in the unitary government of Britain.

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CHAPTER IV

MODELLING AN EFFECTIVE PARTICIPATION METHODOLOGY

EFFECTIVENESS AND TYPE OF PARTICIPATION

Several types of citizen participation were discusses in Cahpter III. They ranged from reaction in the case of Toronto residents facing urban renewal in 1956, to cooptation in the TVA experience, partnership in some MCP programs and citizen control in some CAP programs. They covered all scales from the local to national, but success was not tied to the level of the program any more than to its type. Thus, the Skeffington Report offers at least the prospect of an effective national program whereas some of the ARDA programs fell far short; at the provincial level, there was success in the Okanagan Basin Study but not in the Task Force on Urbanization and the Future; at the local level, success in the Toronto Annex Ratepayers Association example, but not in some of the early NIP experiences. Some programs were designed to achieve the goals of a participation model of democracy, as in Animation Sociale in Montreal, while others were a response to a felt need for action on an issue, as in Wheatly, Oxfordshire. Some sought the latter and achieved the former, as in the opposition of Halifax residents to high-rise development. Some programs were influenced by the government systems of the particular country. The attempt at decentralization in the United States through TVA engendered considerable bitterness with federal agencies in the area. The MCP and CAP programs generated similar conflict between the local focus of the porgram and the centralized nature of the responsible authority.

In general, it can be stated that participation types which operated smoothly in one set of circumstances need not necessarily succeed in similar circumstances elsewhere. The fault though, may not lie in the assumption that a participation type should work similarly in a similar set of circumstances, but in the assumption that all the situational variables will be the same. Not only might there be a different attitude on the part of authorities towards participation, but even those who operate the programs may have widely different ideas on what elicits and constitutes good participation. Local factors such as the issue itself, previous participation success, knowledge of the forces at work and the prior degree of community organization may result in significantly different success rates for similar programs. A prime example is the MCP, run essentially by the same authority but manifesting results ranging from significant physical environmental change to abysmal failure in other physical change or program terms.

Different participation types were often entertained in similar programs. This, however, may not have been so much a response to lcoal area conditions as to the experimental nature of citizen participation, reflecting a feeling that almost any type of participation could be appropriate (as long as it leaned towards the attitude of the authority involved) and that local factors would rule. On the other hand, the selection of a particular type of participation may, because of the inclination or disniclination of the authority to match its program with its own attitudes towards citizen participation, be an important local factor on its own account. Many times, an authority will expound upon the virtues of citizen participation to solve problems, while never listening seriously to, or implementing, any citizen recommendations, or reallocating any power.

If any type was to be selected from the experiences described here, as the most successful form of participation, it would be consultation. It was relatively successful at the regional level in the TVA where, although the hoped-for representation was not included, the environmental change had been beneficial for the region. The Okanagan Basin Study also scored success with consultation; although change is not yet evident, the representation was broad and varied, and participants felt that the recommendations represented Valley opinion. The Rhondda Valley example, while not exhibiting what particiation advocates would call good consultation, nevertheless engaged a wide spectrum of citizens in concultation in many and varied situations from which there evolved a development plan for the area.

It might also be significant that all these examples were implemented at the regional scale, suggesting that local authorities have had neither the inclination nor the resources to carry out relatively experimental participation programs.

However, it must be remembered, as Damer and Hague point out, that the emergence of the citizen participation concept in professional planning literature is scarcely older than the reference to it in the Skeffington Report of 1969. We must therefore evaluate citizen participation types less by reference to which one works best where, than by the stage at which citizens begin to participate evfectively, as judged by their ability to comment adequately on planning and politics. As mentioned earlier, giving control to citizens totally unfamiliar with planning, politics or past paritcipation efforts would be like giving matches to a child. The success of consultation, then, may be indicative not of its excellence as a participation type, but of the realization of authority that reaction is time-consuming, that citizens refuse to be manipulated, and that passing out information only spurs them to the need for involvement. The next obvious step, without knowing which way citizens will react to an issues, is to consult with them on it.

For many citizens, this will be the first time their opinions have been asked, let alone discussed and responded to. Public hearings may vie for the same credibility, but the opportunity to discuss comments is rarely evident in public hearings. The acceptance of consultation, then, is fairly widespread, and it appears to be a successful type of participation in terms of appeasing the initial demands for citizen participation and promoting a feeling of efficacy for the participants. However, as was made clear towards the beginning of Chapter III, participation is a means to an end, that end not being solely the achievement of better participation, but the achievement of tangible objectives and goals in the community.

After the success of their consultative efforts, citizens may complacently wait for results. But since they have been given no power to implement or even legislate recommendations, the authority is under no obligation (except, possibly, a moral obligation) to implement the recommendations. Eventually then, if recommendations are not acted upon, or are not acted on quickly enough, the complacency may give way to disenchantment with participation, or to a demand for more control of the political process. The latter is seen, not as a demand for a different type of citizen participation, but as an adjustment and an addition to what has already been offered. Arnstein refers to the range of citizen participation as a "ladder", implying the successive and accumulating powers accruing to citizens by climbing this ladder. The response of citizens to consultation thus may be a demand for partnership, or for delegated power or for full control. If the local authority has the inclination to facilitate these demands, and if the resources and the issues seem to warrant them, a larger share of power may come to be delegated.

However, to reiterate and reinforce the stance taken here, the success of a program involving citizen participation is not predetermined by the type of participation which is used. One cannot enter a community, analyse the issue and the community situation, and say with assurance that it is a classic case of, say, partnership in action. It may be a kind of partnership, but far different from any of those reported, for example, in the Model Cities Program. Not only might the partners feel differently about the partnership, but the players may be different; this may mean a difference in the swiftness of action.

In summary, then, the decision to embark on a participation program utilizing any one of the types outlined may be a mistake. No one type may be perfect for any one situation -- the process many have to grow from one of reaction to information to partnership. It may need to be a combination of partnership with some delegated power, or of information with consultation. Further to this, and perhaps more important, the type or combination of types may not be the one factor determining whether or not a program succeeds.

LOCAL INTERVENING FACTORS

In any practical situation, an array of local variables may intervene in program inplementation, from government structures right down to the competence of individuals to respond. One must consider the availability and form of information with which the citizens have to work, the permanence of the participation (whether it be temporary to alleviate a particular hardship or more permanent to account for a series of issues of interest to citizens of an area), the legislation letting up a program (rigid or flexible) and the particular government structure under which a program is concerned, with its constraints of time and money. The case studies have pointed out more differences in these areas than in the actual types of participation. Typing seems to be more important for those participation advocates who see participation as a way of redistributing power, than for its implications for planning. This is not to say, however, that there is no use of a typology, particularly in determining the level of decision-making that citizens should be invited to participate in. If, for example, citizens have never participated before, citizen control is out of the question. If they have, attempts to manipulate them or coopt them would doubtless result in antagonism and the failure of a program. The range of participation types then becomes a system for assessing prospective participant populations in order to utilize their talents and time most effectively.

Following is a brief discussion of the local area factors mentioned above and their effects on the success and effectivemess of a program. It is hoped that this will serve as a better basis than the typology for identifying effective participation.

As a first point, it must be realized that the identification of problems does not mean their automatic solution or correction. There may be a wealth of other factors, some beyond the politicians' or planners' control, which inhibit the implementation process.

The case studies point generally to two types of involvement of citizens: ad hoc involvement when and where issues pertinent to citizen participation arise, and where citizens choose to get involved, or continuing involvement, in which citizens are consulted on all issues within a particular geographic area or subject area (say municipal planning). The former could include everything form identifying the problem to studying, evaluating and recommending alternative solutions to it, to monitoring its passage from the citizens' hands to its solution and implementation. Clague argues that the organization for participation purposes needs an open, temporary arrangement of resources, designed to fulfill a function for a given period of time and then subject to rearrangement.[1] If, however, as many of the case studies demonstrated, power must be redistributed to some degree so that a trend toward more local control is evinced and democracy is held forth, a more permanent arrangement is necessary. Perhaps the best suggestion is that of community councils which, while not involving all citizens to the extent that many participation advocates favour, keeps a watchful eye on the authorities and brings in a wider community voice when deemed necessary.

Damer and Hague feel that citizens will have to be motivated to participate generally in local political life before thay can be expected to participate in decisions affecting the physical environment alone.[2] The examples discussed, however, do not bear this out. While it is felt that ultimately participation in local political life is desirable, the road to this goal is through participation in matters closer to home, more tangible in nature, such as the physical environment. Once advances can be made in this area, citizens can participate more widely and on a more political level.

As a first step, then, it is important that mechanisms be developed to tap opinions and resources at the local level. This cannot work effectively in a centralized system wherein local concerns are not treated independently or on the basis of their own peculiarities. A more decentralized system such as is possible in Canada is suggested here, utilizing such mechanisms as the community council mentioned above. In this way, the possibilities for integration of those concerned into the overall scheme are greater than in an inflexibly structured system where criticism is the citizen's only retort. As long as there is resistance to "the inevitable demand to reallocate power, participation will be a much more expensive and time consuming process."[3]

A lot of confusion, time and energy can be saved through continued association with those for whom the citizens are making recommendations. The importance of greater communication between authorities and citizens is pointed out by Baker: "Special emphasis should be placed on the reintegrative effects of creating relatively tight knit, intercommunication and personal role-sets."[4]

Obviously then, some combination of the two processes would be best; the consultation with citizens on important issues as well as the accounting of all other items (with the outside chance that some may be important to some citizens).

The type of legislation involved in providing participation opportunities would have to be extremely flexible to accommodate the variety of problems and people dealt with. Again, as seen in the case studies, what may be appropriate legislation in urban areas may not be appropriate in rural ones. What is adequate for informed, educated citizens may be totally alien and absurd to the underprivileged. The whole attitude towards different ethnic groups makes for necessary changes in methods of dealing with participation.

Flexibility is the key, especially in an experimentation stage. However, this does not mean that a government may be any less responsive to citizen recommendations. It is the responsibility of citizens, too, to indicate the effectiveness of a particular method:

- On what premise are recommendations based?
- How much study was conducted by citizens or are recommendations based only on emotional feelings?
- Do they believe that their recommendations can reasonably be applied or do they have such far reaching implications as to be totally unworkable?

The evaluation of the approach must be two-sided and if governments or agencies are not prepared to act on particular recommendations, as Skeffington reports, they must have a suitable explanation for citizens if they ever expect those citizens to participate again. Once successful methods have been established, continued experimentation may not be necessary; but flexibility, even in successful methods, is imperative for continued success.

As mentioned several times already, the information is probably the key element in participation. It is a prerequisite for effective participation, since citizens must be informed about the planning process and the political process, and also about the factors involved in the particular issues they are dealing with. Emotional or gut feelings about issues have caused more problems than the issue itself in many cases. No doubt, this propensity to to emotionalism on the part of the public has been a factor in the reluctance of the political process to redistribute power. Indeed, citizen control may be an effective mechanism for teaching people about the planning-political system the hard way. On the other hand, the role of "student" is not one in which the participant sees himself. The purpose of participation, after all, is to get action on issues pertinent to the participant, but, "the failure to get across to people the rationale of a given proposal may evoke opposition based more on emotion than on the merits of the case."[5] For the participant to comment intelligently on an issue, then, it is imperative that he be familiar with all aspects of it. If citizens are asked to respond to a plan (mere response being one of the lowest levels of participation), their responses can only be effective, says Blecher, if they "are to become well informed about the underlying reasons for planning proposals and be able to respond to them in the technical language of the professionsl planners."[6]

Fortunately, the outlets for informing the citizens are many and varied and if an authority really wishes to educate the public, its task is becoming easier. Radio, television, newspapers, circulars, public metings and films are all widely used and effective mechanisms of education.

However, it must be remembered that, initially at least, it is to local issues that participants will probably wish to address themselves. It may be desirable to refer to the broader implications of their recommendations, but initially it may be better to keep the discussion as local as the participant wishes. He will no doubt be more familiar with a local situation and his recommendations will probably reflect it. If he sees the effectiveness of participation at this level, he may be induced to consider broader problems and absorb more information to solve these problems. By forcing participants to consider the broader objectives of a community from the beginning, there is a risk of appearing unresponsive to their local needs and of forcing them to accept centralization and a structure to which they must conform. But by building from a localized foundation, participants can gradually be absorbed into planning and political processes - not to coopt them into a status-quo structure, but to inform them of the workings of a structure that many do not understand and therefore react against.

Time limitations are also very important considerations in citizen participation. Not only is the actual time a community has to study an issue important, but so also is the timing of the participation program; where and when citizens enter the game, how long they have to study and how long their interest is needed subsequent to recommendations to conclude the process. All of these stages are important, and a program without either the first or the last is incomplete (the middle stage is obvious in any participation program). Ideally, the beginning of any program would involve citizens in an analysis of their community or area, at which point inadequacies could be identified and dealt with.

It is also vital to remember that participation, to be effective, has to be linked to action. In Aleshire's words:"Participation should precede action, but action is needed to secure interest."[7] Participation must therefore be an ongoing process, building on its own momentum as significant action steps unfold. Thus, in the first place, citizens should have the opportunity to submit their wants and needs prior to plans being finalized so that when draft plans are made public for comment, they already reflect some consensus of prior opinion. The plan could then be studied by both planners and citizens on its merits. Implementation of some suggestions may begin as citizens continue to study and make recommendations, as has been made possible through the structure plans/local plans process in Britain. Before study is completed, the mechanisms of implementation may already have begun; fruition may spur citizens to remain interested until the solution of the original issue, and carry them on to other issues. This complementary association of planners and citizens could open new doors to interdiciplinary planning, the integration of heretofore uncompromising bodies. While acting as a technical resource in association with the citizen body, these planners may come to work more harmoniously with each other, thus compounding the effectiveness of the program.

Financial resources need not be a crippling factor, if agencies with expertise and funds for the creation of sophisticated workable plans are truly part of the participation program. If, on the other hand, previous failures and thwarted attempts at participation have stung citizens so badly as to render them pessimistic about further programs, greater efforts in advertising and continual personal contact will be necessary. This is often very difficult, but if the media are utilized effectively, they can both advertise and report on proceedings. If contact resources are handled properly, they can be an interest generating agent as well as a legitimizing community agent. Depending on prior experience, effective use of available resources can be as profitable as massive advertising campaigns.

Another local problem is the multiplicity of administrative boundaries which creates great difficulty in defining "community" for program purposes. Ley, for example, refers to the need to redefine boundaries to make a more effective contribution to solving the problems of regional disparity.[8] If boundaries can be made to coincide, the programs and facilities operation under overlapping jurisdictions may fall into place too. This still would not insure participative planning, but it could make it easier for the citizen to participate. There is no reason why one agency or another, one government or another, should rule an area to the exclusion of others already there. Nor need there be a whole new level of government to solve certain problems. If boundaries are coterminous, the agencies should be able to work with the citizens in a spirit of compromise to alleviate stressful situations as they arise.

To conclude this section, a quotation from Clague is particularly apt:

> The answer is not some yet-to-be-discovered participation form. Rather, it lies in the responsiveness of organizations, the availability of resources, free access to information and a political planning process that is accountable to the citizenry.[9]

In short, the effectiveness of participation is conditioned by what have been referred to in this chapter as local factors (by local is meant the localization of an issue rather than any particular area). The type of participation and its relative permanence (whether ad hoc or continuing) are clearly important too. But the selection of a particular style of participation for a particular program is rarely based on an evaluation of participation typologies; rather, it reflects local attitudes and constraints related to the sorts of things that have been discussed in this section, i.e. legislation, flexibility, information, timing, finances and government integrative efforts.

A MODEL FOR EFFECTIVE PARTICIPATION

The logical next question is to ask in what fashion these factors can be combined so that the initiators of a citizen participation program are constantly aware of them. One way is to develop a "model" of citizen participation; one that, unlike the participation typologies discussed earlier, takes account of the way in which citizens are taken through a program once they have been invited to participate.

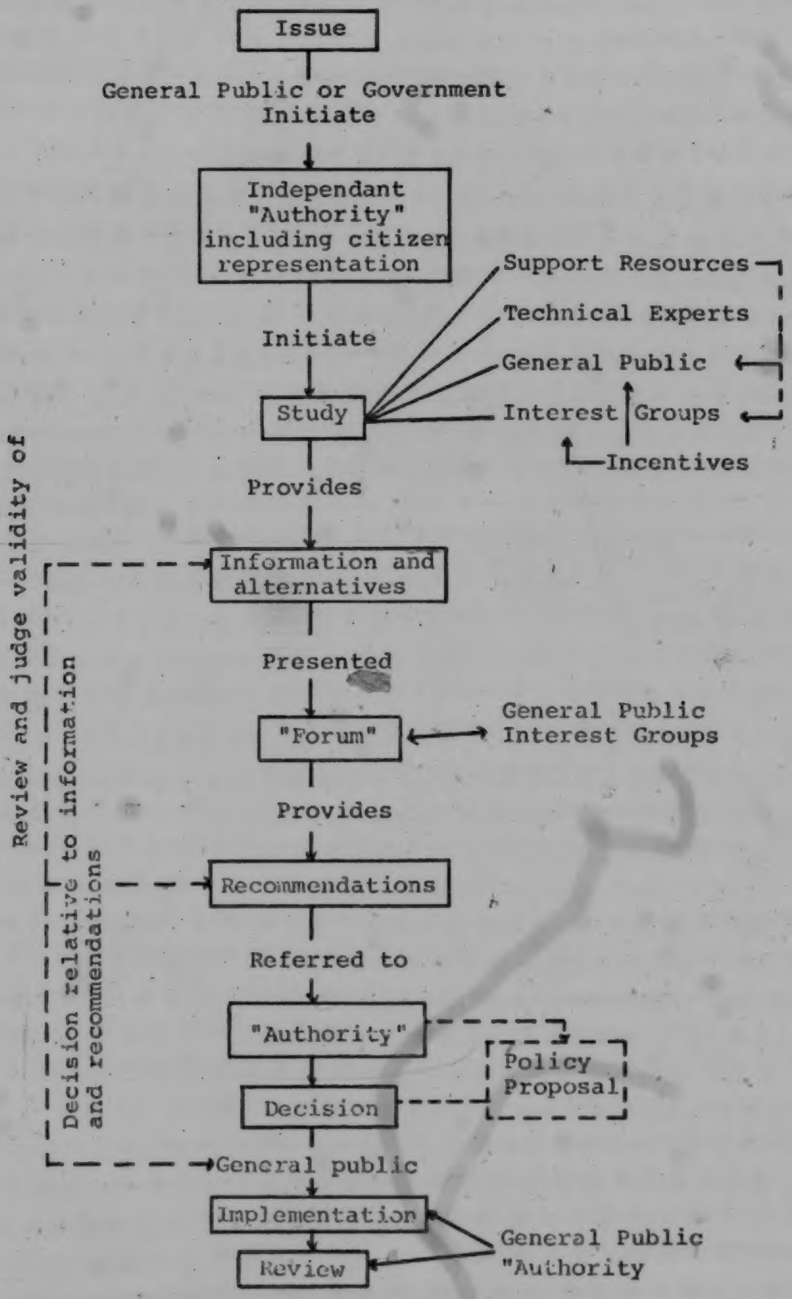
The model outlined here is based, in large part, on Appendix B of the Man and His Resources Report, A Possible Model for Participation, which illustrates the degree of participation envisaged (see Figure 6). This model has been altered at points to take account of factors mentioned throughout this chapter. The result is illustrated in Figure 7 and is explained below.

First, there must be an issue. While it may generally be best that citizens should identify issues to be sure of their relevance, there is also a risk that this approach may provoke reaction rather than cooperation. Since flexiblility is a major consideration, issues can be suggested by authorities with the provision that they may be altered to more closely suit the concerns of citizens. One conclusion from the general literature was that participation would be more successfully stimulated if citizens initially had something concrete to address themselves to. Furthermore, the general public and the authority need to come together immediately to decide if the issue at stake is a fair assessment of the citizens' concerns and, if not, how it might be changed to suit them.

Since everyone will not be equally concerned, informed or interested in pursuing the issue, the next important step is the formulation of an independent body or study committee to examine it. The importance of securing as wide a cross-section of representation as possible for this body

Figure 6

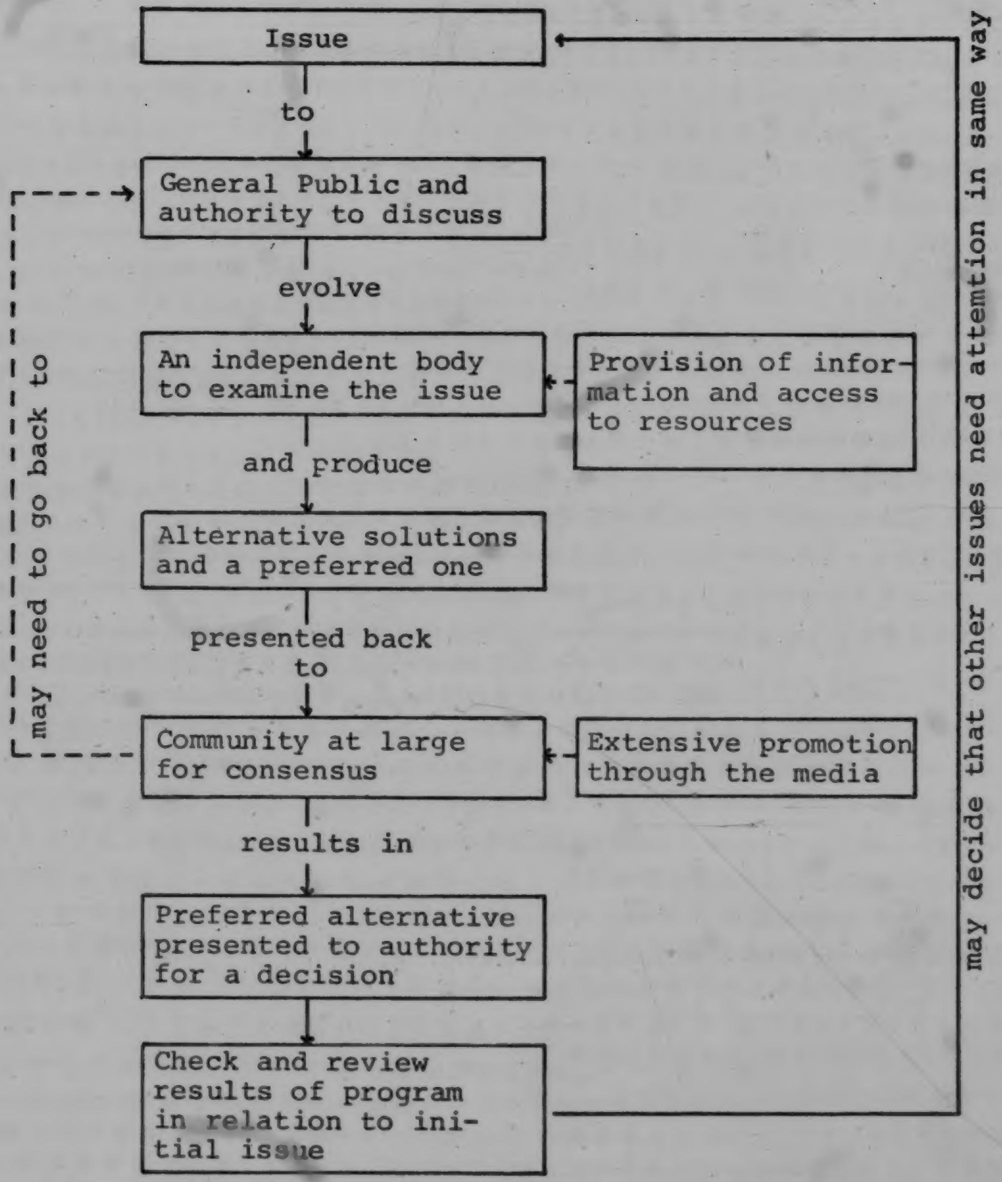
Possible Model for Participation Which Illustrates Degree of Participation Envisaged


Issue
General Public or Government Initiate
Independant "Authority" including citizen representation
Initiate
Support Resources
Technical Experts
General Public
Interest Groups
Incentives
Study
Provides
Information and alternatives
Presented
"Forum"
General Public
Interest Groups
Provides
Recommendations
Referred to
"Authority"
Policy Proposal
Decision
General public
Implementation
Review
General Public
"Authority
Review and judge validity of
Decision relative to information and recommendations

Source: Man and His Reources Report, p.15

Figure 7

A Composite Model


Issue
to
General Public and authority to discuss
evolve
An independent body to examine the issue
Provision of information and access to resources
and produce
Alternative solutions and a preferred one
presented back to
Community at large for consensus
Extensive promotion through the media
results in
Preferred alternative presented to authority for a decision
Check and review results of program in relation to initial issue
may need to go back to
may decide that other issues need attemtion in same way

cannot be stressed too much. It has to be assumed, having contacted all interest groups and known interested individuals for the initial meeting, that the resultant body is representative of the study committee. Although initial representation will be from those most interested among those attending the initial meeting, the committee should be supplemented if some factions of the community voice are missing.

The committee is then charged with initiating study of the issue. It is at this point that the provision of information becomes an important link between issues and recommendations. Of course, the committee will have resources and capabilities of their own as outlined in Chapter I. They will, however, need support resources in the form of political backing, technical experts, written reports, surveys of attitudes and opinions from the general public and interest groups (if they feel that the committee needs wider representation) and continued incentives from legislators and planners. It is at this point, as well, if the issue at stake is somewhat broader that the committee's usual sphere of interest, that care must be taken to explain the relevance of the issue to this broader area and its possible implications for this area. In addition, the political and planning difficulties and delays must be explained so that the incentive to participate does not wane.

Out of this study should evolve alternatives provided by the community itself. As well, there should emerge a favoured alternative with reasons why it was selected and why others were not, as well as how the alternatives might be carried out. This amounts to the gathering and examination of considerable information gleaned over an adequate period of time (to be determined by the issue at stake and the capabilities of the committee).

These alternatives and the preferred one should then be presented back to the community at large (the general public, interest groups and anyone who might have attended the initial meetings). It is probably at this point that extensive use can be made of the media to advertise the meeting and the information and alternatives available. Perhaps an extended period of talk-shows, panel discussions, extensive printed material and contests should be entertained here, as in the Rhondda Valley experience. These public meetings will be a critical test of the extent to which the community is represented by the study committee. It is up to the committee, while entertaining other opinions, to defend their alternatives and their means of solution. This is not to say, of course, that the solution at this point is as cut and dried as many of the plans which are presented to the public in the name of citizen participation. The flexibility mentioned earlier not only applies to the process itself but to the formulation of a plan because of the diversity of interests involved in its development.

It is hoped that by the end of this meeting or series of meetings between the committees and the public, that alternatives can be chosen and recommendations for their implementation agreed upon. The emphasis on more that one alternative points out that there is as much need for citizens to present options to authorities as there is for authorities to avoid presenting a cut and dried plan to citizens.

The preferred alternatives are then presented to the authority involved. If the process has been efficient, it would have included the authority (be it politicians or planners) as an interest in the community. This takes advantage of the talents of those in knowledgeable positions, as well as avoiding the criticism that the local authorities have been excluded from the formulation of recommendations. Obviously, this is cooptation (which was not too favourably reviewed earlier in the chapter) but it is not the usual form of cooptation in which authorities coopt citizens to avoid future confrontation. In this case, planners and politicians are coopted into the participation process, not just to ensure that they recommendations will be implemented but to understand their point of view.

If the authority has been involved in the program all along, they would no doubt have informed the rest of the committee of difficulties that might negate the adoption of one alternative or some means for the implementation of the preferred alternative. Thus, when the recommendations are

are finally referred to the authority, the selection of the appropriate alternatives should be quite obvious (barring dissension among the legislative ranks, which is often itself a problem).

A decision can be reached and reasons for or against a proposal should be given by the authority to the public (probably to the committee, which has stronger bonds than the public at large). The public should then be given a chance to reconsider, should the alternatives be rejected. The decision, should it be positive, should result in a policy proposal to be implemented by the public authority's administrative framework. Should the authority have pursued a local issue in many local areas (e.g., neighbourhoods), and found the neighbourhood committee a good vehicle for organization, they might here consider using neighbourhood councils to carry out the plan. Initially, because of the inexperience of neighbourhood committees with executive responsibility, their duties could be largely administrative. If they exhibit more appreciation of the planning and political processes and a responsibility in their administrative role, perhaps the public authority could consider the delegation of actual planning power to the neighbourhood council.

Finally, a review system must be established, with participation by both citizens and the authority, to see if the chosen plan did actually achieve the goals outlined at the identification stage.

If this whole program is a first opportunity for participation, it could be a long and tedious process, particularly if the issues are very broad. It may therefore be more expedient to consider initial participation programs at a local level, dealing with fairly local issues, so that the process can move fast enough to maintain the citizens' interest in participation while educating them on factors related to the issue (such as the political and planning processes in the local area). Having captured and organized this interest, participation can then be expanded to broader issues while utilizing the organization obtained at the local level. Time is saved at the beginning of the more broadly based program and can be applied to the educational program which will need to be expanded in this case.

It may also prove, however, that there are other local area issues to be discussed which may mean a re-run of the initial process. The model should therefore be circular to permit the opportunity for further issues, whether local or broadly based, to be identified and pursued through a participation program.

NOTES AND REFERENCES - CHAPTER IV

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9. Clague, op. cit., p. 36.

CHAPTER V

THE ALBERTA LAND USE FORUM: PROSPECTS FOR EFFECTIVE PARTICIPATION

I have been in the fortunate position of being engaged in several planning processes which included, as integral parts, citizen participation programs. These were the Task Force on Urbanization and the Future in Alberta, in 1971-72, the Okanagan Basin Study in British Columbia in 1972-73 (both referred to earlier) and, most recently, Operation Land Use, the public involvement program of the Alberta Land Use Forum in 1974. This last program was designed to enquire into the land use concerns of citizens of Alberta, and to guide them in formulating recommendations, suggestions, briefs and plans which could be used by various provincial governmental departments in establishing land use planning policies.

Having been exposed to citizen participation programs in planning prior to this project, I was aware of some of the problems. Thus, when the opportunity arose in May, 1974 to help guide such a program, it was a timely opportunity for me, not only to gain further experience in this important new direction in planning, but also to analyse critically a practical program in a way that might assist in the design of future participation programs. Although Operation Land Use appears to concern itself only with participation in land use planning, as discussed at some length earlier, planning is inextricably woven into the political and, consequently, participation arenas. As Beal points out: "Planning...is at least as broad as government itself. Any concern of government would be a concern of the planning office."[1]

My involvement with Operation Land Use (OPLU) covered a seven month period from June to December, 1974. A total of eighty-four communities was included in the program throughout the province; I was charged with involving eighteen of them in the Edmonton region (within the city and a radius of approximately thirty miles around the city). The sample was to include fourteen communities within Edmonton and one from each of the Counties of Leduc, Strathcona, and Parkland and the M.D. of Sturgeon.

Between seven hundred and eight hundred people were involved in the program in these eighteen communities. Explicit records were kept of the participation in each community; its form, its success or failure, the problems (whether program oriented or citizen oriented), the breadth and intensity of land use concerns and the results of the program design (which was to guide X number of citizens through a planning process, the product of which would be passed along to government departments).

In light of the concerns about participation processes brought out through the programs cited earlier, it was felt that a test of the methodology outlined in

Chapter III was needed and that for several reasons this would be an excellent program to analyse. Firstly, as pointed out earlier, it offers as many instances of participation as the other case studies do together. As well, it is dealing with land use, a basic geographical concern, as well as with physical planning, which is an exercise of prime importance to geographers. Thirdly, and quite importantly, the program offered citizens a chance to voice opinions and recommendations prior to a crisis situation (which is associated with much public involvement). As Connor points out, citizen participation is often " 'too little, too late' - and too megative to be fruitful."[2] Effective participation may be a dream, but by at least analysing the practical problems ingerent in securing effective citizen participaton, it is hoped that land use planning efforts can be brought closer to the desires of the occupanes of that land.

Of course, considering that the Land Use Forum has just released its findings, it could hardly be expected that the effectiveness of the Forum's participation program could be analysed in terms of achieved policy changes in land use. While it is felt by pragmatists that implementation is the ultimate gauge, and the best inducement to further and better participation, only an estimate of whether or not recommendations will be implemented can be made here because several steps from the proposed methodology were not carried out as part of this program:

- the decision of powerholders
- its reference back to the general public
- the implementation of decisions
- the review of the process (which may generate new programs)

ENABLING LEGISLATION

As a result of the fact that various land use issues were being raised in the Alberta Legislature, and particularly as a result of the move to repeal the communal Properties Act, under "Orders of the Day - Government Motions" of March 14, 1973, the Honourable Dr. Horner, Minister of Agriculture, proposed the following motion to the Assembly, seconded by Mr. Topolinsky, Minister Without Portfolio, responsible for Rural Development:

> Be it resolved that the Legislature require the government to set up an Alberta Agricultural Land Use Forum consisting of three Albertans and appropriate staff to hold public hearings and report to the government thereon and to make recommendations regarding agricultural land use.
>
> Further, that the Forum consider, but not be limited to the following matters:

1) the family farm;
2) Multi-use of agricultural lands;
3) The use of agricultural land for recreational purposes;
4) The use of agricultural land for urban expansion;
5) Future land needs of Alberta agriculture;
6) Corporate farms, foreign ownership of land, absentee ownership and communal farming;
7) The common ownership of land, agricultural processing and marketing facilities;
8) Land use as it influences population distribution in Alberta;
9) The extent, if any, to which the historical right of a land owner to determine the use and disposition of agricultural property ought to be restricted.[3]

Considerable discussion ensued regarding item 6, particularly, with respect to communal farming. Apparently, a Communal Properties Committee was set up in May, 1972 and reported to the Legislature in October, 1972, at which point they suggested that the Communal Properties Act be repealed. An Advisory Committee was struck to follow up on this suggestion, but since it was not to report until later in 1973, it was suggested that the Forum also look into this matter and discuss it at public hearings. The Communal Properties Committee also suggested a general examination of rural land use, and it was from this suggestion that the Forum took shape.

The discussion of the motion was carried over until March 15th. That afternoon, Mr. Gruenwald, Progressive Conservative Member for Lethbridge West, suggested that concern should also be focussed on issues other than those explicitly spelled out by the motion. In particular, he urged that the motion must be broadened to include urban issues if it was to be meaningful to all Albertans. He further suggested that all reference to an Agricultural Land Use Forum be deleted in favour of the broader term, Land Use Forum.

Mr. Speaker, Social Credit Member for Little Bow, made reference to the need for information for people to react to, and asked that recommendations be sought from citizens of the province.

Mr. Clarke, Social Credit Member for Olds-Didsbury, then mentioned the need for pointing out the priorities of the government (for example, the family farm, rural development and decentralization) so that people's recommendations dealing with land use reflect these priorities. As it turned out, participants assumed that the terms of reference were the priorities of government, even though the Order in Council specifically stated that a discussion of issues was not limited to the terms of reference.

It was by no means agreed that a Forum was the appropriate way to handle these issues. Mr. Notley, New Democratic Party Member for Spirit River - Fairview, felt that a consensus could never be achieved and that there would be a great deal of controversy. Mr. Gordon Taylor, Social Credit Member for Drumheller, thought the Legislature should forget about forums and commissions and turn to their senior civil servants for recommendations derived from their years of experience. He did conclude, though, that if a forum approach was taken, it should take account of the opinions of the residents of Alberta.

The motion was carried with the simple amendment that the word Agricultural be struck from the title of the Forum.

The prospects for effective participation are not bouyed up by this legislative discussion. Apart from a few of the terms of reference, there was very little interest in the other subject areas outlined, let alone those of, say, an urban nature or any others falling outside the nine terms of reference. The legislation itself gave little more support or substance to the concept of citizen participation than most of the case study programs described earlier.

THE FORUM PROGRAM

The Alberta Land Use Forum was established on the 15th of March, 1973. It was to be governed by Order in Council No. 1447/73 which provided for a three member board to consist of the following:

a) Dr. V. A. Wood, Chairman
b) Mr. J. E. Davis
c) Mr. Ralph Brown

This Board was charged with holding public hearings and making recommendations on land use to the government. It was to consider the terms of reference outlined earlier, without being limited to them. The Forum was also empowered to employ such staff and incur such expenses as were necessary and approved by the Chairman.

The Forum was to confer, from time to time, with a four member Cabinet committee consisting of the Minister of Agriculture (chairman), the Minister of Lands and Forests, the Minister of the Environment and the Minister of Municipal Affairs. This committee was to advise the Forum on its work. The first meeting of the Forum board with the Cabinet committee was arranged for August, 1973. Discussion at this meeting revolved around how best to insure the inclusion of public input into the recommendations of the Forum. This input was desired for several reasons. The government in power was elected on a platform that included the elmination of an "Ivory Tower" rule and pressed for more citizen input. The Order in Council directed the Forum to include Alberta citizens in the discussion ofland use issues. Lastly, as the name "forum" implies, public discussion must at some point be entertained.

A three phase program was outlined, including the preparation of background information, holding public hearings and forums and, lastly, reporting to the Legislature in late 1975. The first and the third items will be discussed at some length later. Here, however, the second item will be examined in more detail.

It was brought out at this first meeting that the Rural Education and Development Association (an educational association connected with many rural and farm organizations in Alberta) had had considerable experience with citizen participation in Alberta, particularly with the "Man and His Resources" program carried out in 1972-73, and that their ideas might prove valuable. Another meeting was held in September, 1973 at which the Board and the Liaison Committee (a group of senior civil servants seconded by the Forum to assist in an advisory and information capacity) as well as the director of Rural Education and Development Association (R.E.D.A.) were present. The director of R.E.D.A. outlined various types of participation programs and their pitfalls. He also described the "Man and His Resources" project, and indicated R.E.D.A.'s interest in the possibility of carrying out a similar program for the Forum.

Since the Forum were at liberty to interpret their task as they saw fit, at the subsequent Board and Cabinet Committee meeting of October, 1973, it was decided to ask R.E.D.A. to carry out a province-wide participation program. Shortly after, R.E.D.A. accepted an eight-and-one-half month contract to commence on April 16th, 1974. The time allotted for this portion of the program seems short. To expect relatively unmotivated and politically uneducated citizens to contribute effectively to the solution of broad-based issues, and to submit this contribution to a government that is invisible within the program, all within the space of eight months, may seem impossible. Add to this the delays in most areas (outlined later), especially those of information to citizens by the Forum, and the time constraints became much tighter. However, by carrying out the same program in some eighty-four communities, R.E.D.A. could be expected to benefit from economies of scale. Also, as mentioned in Chapter III, following the Skeffington Report, there is a need to ensure that endless discussion does not frustrate action. The Skeffington Report suggests that there should be an overall timetable showing target dates by which major stages would be reached in the preparation of the plan. The Okanagan Basin Study found success in a compact, clearly outlined study, but the CAP programs and the Task Force on Urbanization were both victims of unexpectedly shortened programs. Thus, while a compact program is to be commended, unforseen problems can make it ineffective.

Between October, 1973 and May, 1974, R.E.D.A. was to draw up its program and occasionally meet with the Board for discussion. In the meantime, the Board was to secure and publish background information on each of the terms of reference laid out in the Order-In-Council so that when the participation program commenced, information would be readily available.

Since public hearings were specifically mentioned in the Order-In-Council, the Board also drew up a program of hearings to be held after R.E.D.A.'s program. This was to obtain opinions from people and groups not able to participate in R.E.D.A.'s program, as well as to augment and verify the recommendations received by R.E.D.A.

The final aspect of the Forum's preliminary work with R.E.D.A. was the submission of a publicity and information proposal to assist the public participation program (see Appendix A). A brief analysis of the proposal is in order here. The Skeffington Report, described in Chapter III, provides a useful reference base.

In the Skeffington Report it is argued that the first main occasion that demands substantial effort to make information available is the official announcement of the program. The proposal points out that this is precisely what the Forum intended. However, instead of a splash to be seen and heard by almost everyone who was likely to be interested, there was little more than a ripple in local papers. A hesitancy about citizen input was evident in the lack of aggressiveness over this initial publicity. It was hoped that the field representatives (who were hired by R.E.D.A. to carry out its program in the eighty-four communities) would be able to enter a community which was already attuned to what this opportunity meant and quickly engage in a program from there. More often than not, however, the field representatives had to spend considerable time explaining what the Forum was, and R.E.D.A.'s association with it. Considerable time could have been saved if the initial announcement had been stronger and more widely reported.

The second information step, according to Skeffington, is the "reports of surveys of what is needed in the community." The Skeffington Report assumes that planning objectives "are accepted and implicit."[4] The information exercise is therefore seen as an expansion of objectives by planners so that people know what is to be discussed. This is not far from what the Forum attempted to do. Ever since the discussion in the Legislature, the terms of reference remained the same. The opportunity was provided for other issues to be raised, but only the nine terms of reference were addressed in the information reports. This means that the citizens of Alberta were given no opportunity to question the objectives of the Land Use Forum, and no informed comment on issues which lay outside the terms of reference, no matter how important they considered them to be. In particular, despite the reference in the legislation to the importance of urban areas and the consequent need to examine some of their more pressing land use problems, the terms of reference remained rural in nature. Groups studying urban issues were not given any lead information or, as will be noted later, any informational assistance from the Forum. On the other hand, the voluminous information on the nine terms of reference almost compelled citizens to look at these rather than unresearched concerns for which recommendations could only be qualitative (without empirical data for the formulation of recommendations).

The nine terms of reference were the subject of both "summary" and "full" reports. Five thousand summary reports of each of the terms of reference were published and from eighty to one hundred copies of each of the full reports. This allowed the distribution of summary reports to almost anyone who attended meetings and of full reports primarily to Advocate Committees (described later) studying one of the issues researched.

Regardless of these points, the information reports were to be released June 26th, 1974, long before citizens would be asked to participate and allowing ample time for public study. Such was not the case, however, and this too will be discussed as it affected specific community study groups.

Other informational aids mentioned in the publicity package (such as slides and charts), while an excellent idea and, as mentioned in the Rhondda Valley case study, an excellent scene setter, were to be available long before meetings were held, which then made the field representative's job of introducing the program in various communities more difficult.

The last step, teaser statistics, was probably useful for maintaining or even generating interest at that point in the program and may be a useful one to pursue in other programs.

The other areas deemed important by Skeffington for information blitzes were delayed considerably in Alberta by other activities of the Forum.

Within Operation Land Use (the program set up by R.E.D.A. in which the public would be invited to participate), a smaller scale attempt was made to provide information as the community groups worked. Here may be seen a closer approximation of Skeffington's view of effective information. This will be discussed further in the section on individual communities in Chapter VI.

As the name implies, the Forum was charged with the public discussion of concerns of a very wide scope. It chose two avenues to identify these concerns: public participation and public hearings. The public in Alberta are fairly familiar with the "hearings" procedure. It has been the major source of public input into the planning process for many years (a major source but a minor input). It involves citizens or groups being given the floor at a public meeting to air their grievances and opinions, and to make recommendations. This process does not insure community consensus on a speaker's statement, nor any intensive ~~and/~~or comprehensive study on the issues. Most importantly, and probably fortunately, if all of the above happen to be contained in one brief, the public hearing does not imply that any recommendations will be utilized in policy formulation or even considered.

Public involvement, on the other hand, offers to guard against the dilemmas of public hearings mentioned above. However, owing to the inexperience of the Alberta government with the concept, and the apprehension with which it was approached, it is not surprising that the chance to make recommendations was all that was offered.

They were not bound to extensive public participation as a method of securing this response. They neither necessarily wanted nor were at liberty to offer any power over decision-making or policy formulation to citizens. To the Forum, citizen participation was not to be so crass as manipulation or some similar token gesture, but neither was it to be so liberal that the citizens could get any sense of power or influence. The Forum did arrange for hearings to be held after the citizen participation program for the benefit of those individuals and groups who were not able to participate in Operation Land Use, but while these hearings were to be more extensive and comprehensive than most, and their recommendations were to be given more weight than usual, the Forum seemed to be implying that citizen participation would receive little more credence than hearings.

The participation process of the Forum could be labelled "Consultation". The dissemination of information and discussion with technicians were to be an important part of the process, together with the evaluation of citizens' recommendations by government officials. It is not known, however, if this represents an acceptance on the part of government of consultation as an acceptable starting point for citizen participation in Alberta, reaction and manipulation having run their course, or if the use of the process by R.E.D.A. in the past meant that a tried methodology could be readily adapted. The ultimate use of the recommendations that came from the participation program will probably answer this question.

PROSPECTS FOR EFFECTIVE PARTICIPATION

An attempt will be made now to determine whether the Alberta Land Use Forum appeared to offer much hope for citizen participation. Further, I wish to determine if the examination at this broad conceptual level can tell me anything about the best scale of involvement (e.g., local or provincial) for effective participation.

First and most important is the fact that, as in the MCP and CAP programs, the object of the Forum's work was not to develop an effective citizen participation methodology, but to resolve a planning problem (in the CAP program it was inner city poverty, in the Alberta Land Use Forum, it was establishing policies on land use in Alberta). Public participation was not discussed at length in the legislative comments on the Forum. While, as mentioned earlier, this leaves the field open for flexible participation programs, by the same token, it neither compels MLA's to be any more responsive to citizen recommendations than they usually are nor gives citizens any strong voice with which to bargain with powerholders.

Contrary to much of what has been stated earlier, the legislators took it upon themselves to identify issues, ones which, as will be seen later, failed to represent the land use concerns of the majority of Alberta's population, the urban residents. It has been repeatedly stated that concerns should be identified by citizens themselves, although it is ligitimate to suggest issues for the purpose of generating interest. While the Forum, through its mandate, was not limited to the issues suggested in the legislation, in retrospect, no others brought out by citizens were seriously acknowledged or entertained by the Forum.

The identification of issues is closely related to the provision of information, on which the Forum also fell short, suggesting that the authorities were ignorant of the possibility that other issues might be worth bringing up. Even when the Forum provided information on issues, it was commonly too late to be very useful. It was meant to engender participation as well as to guide the response, but often failed to do either.

Moreover, the structure of the program -- having citizens' groups concur with planning committees who in turn submitted their recommendations through R.E.D.A. to the Forum, and thence to the Cabinet Committee and so, finally, on to the Legislature -- created too many barriers for the public to see the point of their participation.

In terms of the model discussed in Chapter III, it would appear, again, that the program fell short. It missed several important steps both for administering a good citizen participation program and for evaluating it. Citizens and the program facilitators were not initially brought together to determine if the terms of reference were legitimate concerns of the public. Research was carried out on these issues before citizens were involved. As well, every step in the model beyond the referral of recommendations to the authorities is left to the discretion of the Forum and Legislature. This, combined with the fact that over a year elapsed before the Forum issued its final report, may turn interested citizens away from future involvement. Even if their concerns are acted upon in time, the implementation may bear little resemblance to the recommendations, leaving participatns ignorant about the effectiveness of their input. Even though government may find the citizens' recommendations useful, and decide that participation is valuable to the political-planning process, the link between recommendations and implementation may be so obscure that citizens cannot recognize it and may refuse to participate again.

Thus far, then, although many of the negative factors which applied to the Alberta Land Use Forum were also identified in other porgrams which were considered successful, it is hard to avoid the feeling that the combination of them was bound to result in frustration. Generally, the conceptual format of the Forum program did not lend itself to effective participation.

However, the purpose of this thesis is not only to determine how closely the public participation program employed by the Alberta Land Use Forum conforms to the model, but also to determine what changes may have to be made to this model based on evidence secured through an analysis of the Forum program. It may be, regardless of the conceptualized format for participation, that a program may survive or flounder in its practical application on the basis of more particular factors. Therefore, attention will now be focussed on the segment of the Land Use Forum program in which the participation concept was to be applied, to see if any more precise estimates of the effectiveness of the program can be made.

R.E.D.A. OPERATION LAND USE

The Forum's agreement with R.E.D.A. was expressed in the following terms:

> R.E.D.A. agrees to forthwith commence and carry out in a thorough and diligent manner: planning, involvement of citizens of Alberta in a Public Participation Program to acquire the concerns of community citizens and community proposed recommendations on land use and to report the findings to the Forum.[5]

So as not to be construed as a program laid out by the Forum (because the Forum wanted to avoid the risk of being accused or organizing a program biased in favour of government) and to offset the rural connotations of both the Forum and the Rural Education and Development Association, the participation exercise was given the title, Operation Land Use (OPLU).

R.E.D.A.'s conception of OPLU was strongly influenced by the Man and His Resources program which they carried out in rural Alberta in 1972-73 under the direction of the Provincial Department of the Environment. Although the urban portion of the Man and His Resources program fell short of the desired quantity and quality of participation, R.E.D.A. proposed to use a similar approach for its work in urban and rural areas for OPLU.

Selection of Study Areas

With such a definite participation format in mind, R.E.D.A.'s first objective was to select a workable number of study areas in which to carry out its program. The method of selection was essentioaly quite crude. It was partly based on the notion that no one should have to travel more than fifty miles to a meeting. Further, it was felt that the larger urban areas should be broken into several equal parts for study, mainly because of their larger population. This method made several assumptions and missed some important considerations. It assumed that issues would be evenly distributed throughout the province. It also assumed that the desire to participate would be evenly distributed, and that the community selected for meetings would be an agreeable point for people from many communities within the fifty mile radius to meet and discuss their problems. It was not realized that communities close to the major urban centres (say within a thirty mile radius) would have very different problems, and many more of them, than communities further away and so, would have to be dealt with differently. Also, it was not recognized that urban problems are rarely discussed on a broad issue level, but rather on a local community level. As well, not all areas in a city are equally approachable or interested, making division of the city into segments inappropriate.

If concern was merely with numbers of participants, areas would have been selected on the basis of high levels of participation in the past. As much of the literature has suggested, such things as political affiliation and socio-economic status may influence participation greatly. Therefore, as Cole suggests, areas of moderate to high socio-economic status or areas of higher political activity should have been selected.[6] However, since the scope and intensity of participation were as important as the numbers alone, other criteria were also used to determine which areas should be included.

As the field representative charged with providing a forum for participation within the city of Edmonton and surrounding regions within a thirty mile radius, I had a unique opportunity to participate in OPLU through all its stages. This began with the selection of participating communities in Edmonton, a task which was left entirely to my discretion, apart from a suggestion that fourteen areas should be chosen. To make sure that all the active issues and all the potentially motivated communities were included, considerable discussion was held with agencies and individuals in Edmonton who were aware of urban action groups and potentially interested areas. This included discussions with the Edmonton Social Planning Council, the Task Force on Urbanization and the Future and the City of Edmonton Social Services Department. As well, through the community league organization which covers 106 communities in Edmonton, all leagues in the city were given information and invited to inquire about the program.

The fourteen study areas suggested within the city were found to be too many for the general nature of the overall program. In the first place, only fifteen areas were identified as possible centres for study (whether as areas in which issues were known to exist or because of logical geographic divisions of the city), and not all of these participated. Some were even combined if issues and areas were related. The reasons for selecting each study area are detailed in Chapter V.

While both the Forum and R.E.D.A. pushed quite strongly for reaction to the nine terms of reference, little attention was given to the corollary of selecting areas for inclusion in the program which had an obvious interest in any of these issues. The field representatives were given a free hand in selection of study areas in the urban centres (i.e., Edmonton and Calgary), but the other study areas were assigned, with little reference to the nine issues. On the one hand, this may be considered useful in that concerns other than those contained in the terms of reference might have been exposed. As well, areas where concerns had not yet come into the open would have a chance to be heard from. On the other hand, areas with overt concerns may have been passed over in favour of communities which fitted the distance criteria for selecting study areas. Moreover, the possibility of areas near large cities encountering more and different problems than those areas further out was not considered. Either their concerns were lost, because they were not included in an urban community, or they were ignored by rural communities trying to put forth strictly rural concerns. For instance, Drayton Valley was selceted as a study area for the County of Parkland. The County, therefore, was deprived of a fine opportunity to express one of its graver concerns, that of the problems inherent in the eastern portion's proximity to the city of Edmonton. Fortunately, this situation was eased when I was granted permission to include the Spruce Grove-Stony Plain portion of the County of Parkland as another study area.

The other study areas outside the city were originally envisioned as the Municipal District of Sturgeon and the Counties of Leduc and Strathcona with which I generally agreed. This completed the package of study areas in which not only a great variety and number of issues was expected to arise (which would serve the Forum's purpose), but a large number of people could be involved (which would serve R.E.D.A.'s needs) and a variety in intensity and scope of participation might be noted (which would serve the needs of this thesis).

OPLU Process

The OPLU porcess contained four steps as described in the Prospectus prepared by R.E.D.A.

> Step I R.E.D.A. field staff interviewed formal and informal community leaders to assist in planning and organizing public information meetings in 80 communities....
>
> Step II R.E.D.A. field staff conducted a public information meeting in each of the selected communities. Land Use Advocate Committees will be encouraged to analyse the publicly expressed community priority concerns and to develop solution recommendations. A summary of concerns expressed and committees will be mailed to each participant.
>
> Step III R.E.D.A. facilitate Land Use Asvocate Committees having access to R.E.D.A. established Technical Task Force and Information Data Refereal System.... This is to facilitate in-depth study by Land Use Advocates at their request.
>
> Step IV R.E.D.A. field staff will encourage a Final Meeting of the community citizenry at which proposed recommendations are put forward by the Community Land Use Advocates. R.E.D.A. field staff will prepare a meeting proceedings report to be printed, mailed to each meeting participant, and 10 copied to be forwarded to encourage the community groups to

> present their views to the Forum at the Hearings as a means of reinforcing their proposals.[7]

The theoretical model in Chapter IV suggests that the process commence with the identification of land use issues through a widespread appeal to the affected population to make their conerns known. In fact, though, the issues to be discussed through OPLU were assumed to have been defined adequately by the Forum's terms of reference, and the first step was therefore to make contact with formal and informal community leaders. At this stage there also had to be an initial organizational meeting with a group of community leaders to set up the first public metting. Contacts in provincial government departments were often aware of the program and were ready to help, but non-governmental contacts were generally unaware and needed to be extensively informed. In many cases, I had to meet personally with a contact or community leader to provide a detailed explanation before even an organizational meeting was held. Both the diversity of interest groups and their variety of concerns and activities made this initial explanation necessary before they would commit themselves. While this was very time-consuming, it did allow me an opportunity to determine what, if any, land use concerns they had. In particular, in urban areas, it revealed that the nine terms of reference outlined by the Forum generated little interest. If no other concern was voiced by community leaders, I was cautious about calling even an organizational meeting since my time could be better spent on those groups professing concerns. However, since community groups do not necessarily speak for the whole community, an attempt was made to keep in mind that these people were being asked for organizational assistance. If this was not forthcoming, and no issues of concern were identified, I attempted to make a broader appeal for support which, if unsuccessful, meant that OPLU was not carried out in that community. These cases are documented in Chapter VI.

When concerns could be identified early, both the citizen and myself felt more confident about the possibilities for the program in that area. It also gave me an opportunity to guide citizens towards thinking about broadly-based issues before they went to their community groups to try to generate interest. Specific difficulties in executing this step are referred to later in the discussion of individual communities in Chapter VI. The proceedings of these organizational meetings were recorded and sent to those in attendance so that any decisions and delegated responsibilities were reaffirmed and work could commence.

Step II of OPLU offered better hope for effective citizen participation. Before the first public meeting was called, those interested leaders emerging from the organizational meeting were to conduct several administrative functions, much as outlined in the Skeffington Report.[7] Such things as arranging meeting places and times, distributing information material and publicizing the program saved the field representatives a great deal of time and also made the organizational group feel that it had really participated. At the same time, many publicity items were handled by myself, as will be noted later in this Chapter. Because of the broad base of appeal I was trying to generate for the first public meetings, it was more useful to utilize the larger media outlets (e.g., city wide newspapers, radio and T.V.). While some contend that delegating administrative functions to citizens is token participation, it was used in OPLU merely as an initiator; after all, someone has to perform these functions and who are better qualified than those with the initimate knowledge of the community. This form of delegation also varied, as will be seen in Chapter VI.

The main focus of Step II was the first public meeting. Since it was hoped that citizens would have two months to study issues before making recommendations, these first meetings had to be held between late Spetember and mid-October, 1974.

Assuming that the first public meeting was held (which was not always the case, as shall be seen later), a parallel can be drawn with the "public and authority meeting to discuss the identification of issues", as described in Chapter IV. The initial introduction of the program to citizens at this meeting consisted of an explanation of the procedure to be followed and considerable explanation of the nine terms of reference. The floor was then opened for discussion of that community's concerns. Discussion ranged from the paving of back alleys in some urban study areas to agreement with some of the terms of reference in some rural communities. Where concerns were urban in nature and not consistent with the terms of reference, an effort was made to extrapolate very particular concerns to a broader level that would be meaningful to a provincial government department attempting to prepare policies.

The list of concerns was often quite lengthy. One objective of the first public meeting was to establish priorities among concerns so that:

a) the government could see what the prime concerns were in that study area;

b) common concerns which the government is frequently hearing about could be put aside by a consensus decision in favour of more pressing issues;

c) the community could concentrate its main effort on a few selected concerns; and

d) government could act more quickly knowing what the priority concerns were.

With priorities established, the community was asked to study its prime concerns in more detail. To do this, Land Use Advocate Committees were set up from amongst those present, one to study each issue. As the model in Chapter IV suggests, as far as workable, those for whom recommendations are being made should be included at the planning stage, not only as resource personnel but as active interested agents in the community, whose points of view are invaluable and whose continued participation is of great benefit in the implementation stages of the program.

Sometimes, it was clear that regardless of R.E.D.A.'s intentions for this first public meeting, citizens were interested only in voicing their concerns. Quite often, this was all the participation that was desired on their part. More often, however, Advocate Committees were formed and study sessions arranged. This coincides with the formation of an "independent body" to examine the issue as outlined in the model in Chapter IV. A summary of the concerns expressed and the meeting proceedings was then sent to all those in attendance.

To avoid lengthy discussion of particular issues at the first public meeting, resource persons were not called upon. The meeting was intended to identify issues, establish priorities and set up study groups, though extended discussion on issues often occurred. A suggestion to the discussant that he or she might join an Advocate Committee often brought the meeting back to order.

The Advocate Committees then initiated study on their assigned issues. As mentioned in the model, it was at this point that the provision of information and access to it, became very important. Step III of OPLU offered this information through a Technical Task Force and a Data Referral System to facilitate in-depth studies at the request of an Advocate Committee. There were some difficulties in meeting these requests because of delays or information gaps, as mentioned earlier. The Technical Task Force (discussed later in this section), while useful when approached, was not especially relevant to the urban issue-oriented study areas.

If information and technical resources were not available, and the field representative was unable to secure any outside help, Advocate Committees were left to their own devices. Unless the group was able to obtain its own information, it is to be expected that its recommendations would be little more than "gut" feelings or emotion. Even though reasoned thought went into their preparation, reason without background information is not especially valuable. As well, for the Cabinet Committee to utilize input from the public, those recommendations known to have been made on the basis of empirical data may be expected to receive more attention.

If information was available as planned (which in many cases it was), it was possible to move to Step IV, "a final meeting of community citizens at which proposed recommendations are put forth by Land Use Advocate Committees." In many cases, concurrent with the model, preferred alternative courses of action on certain issues were put forth with reasons why they were selected over others.

It is for the purposes of this meeting, according to the model, that extensive use could be made of the media to publicize the meetings and the implications of decisions made there for the community. Possibly, background information and some alternative courses of action on issues to be discussed could also be published to secure interest in the meeting. This was the method utilized in the Okanagan Basin Study where all sorts of media outlets were used to advertise and invite public reaction to the alternatives (both all the possibilities and the selection recommended by Committees). Unfortunately, available funds and the interest of the media had dwindled by this stage in OPLU. Many citizens felt that their opinions were voiced (which for some was enough), while others felt that their concern was being studied by able representatives which negated the need for their subsequent participation. Thus, the need for a second public meeting to give the original public meeting participants a chance to examine findings and results, as outlined in the model, did not appear as strong in OPLU as in other case studies examined. However, there is nothing to say that the first public meeting attracted representation of every issue group and point of view in the community. Even if some of the original participants come to feel that they are no longer needed, it behooves the authority to once more invite the general public to comment on those alternative courses of action that the representatives of their community favour. Out of this meeting should emerge a consensus of opinion as to how best to resolve the most important issues in that community based on studied opinions of the Land Use Advocate Committees and comments from the general community.

After a second meeting, preferred alternatives or recommendations were conveyed to the Forum. It was decided at this point by R.E.D.A. that no summaries would be presented; rather, each concern was to be analysed on its local merits, taking local factors into consideration. Therefore, full reports were sent to the Forum (some 250 of them from throughout the province). And since the Forum was holding public hearings in the spring of 1975, Land Use Advocate Committees were encouraged to present their views there again as a means of reinforcing their proposals.

What the Forum did with briefs before sending them to the Cabinet Committee or Legislature was to be reported to all who took part in the program. This approximates the "decision and reporting back to the general public" stage in the model, although the latter is more directed at whether or not recommendations will become policy. In OPLU, there was no mechanism for public reaction to the final decision. The "implementation of recommendations from the general public and the authority," and the "review" stages outlined in the model were not conceived as steps in this program. Unfortunately, there are so many agencies involved (the Cabinet Committee, the Forum and R.E.D.A.) that it is difficult to lay the blame for these shortcomings anywhere in particular, although I would contend that the proliferation of agencies, and the delegation of certain portions of the program to each, is the crux of the problem. Not only should one person be the main instrument in the participation process, as Walker and Rigby[8] claim, and as OPLU practised for the most part, but the process should also be confined to one agency for proper continuity, comprehensiveness and accountability.

Prospects for Effective Participation

This examination of the OPLU process was undertaken in an attempt to determine if, at this more specific level, prospects for effective citizen participation look more promising than at the broader conceptual level. In brief, the answer is a qualified yes. The program seems to have enhanced its prospects for success once a more detailed process had been decided upon. While some important steps in the theoretical model have still been overlooked (e.g., meeting of citizens and officials to discuss the applicability of the issues identified, as well as some of the concluding steps) those that were included appear to conform quite well.

It also seems appropriate to include, as OPLU did and the model does not, a step between the identification of an issue (whether by a community or the facilitating agent) and its discussion at a public meeting. This step was called an "organizational meeting" by OPLU and it accomplished several things. While not designed to discuss issues, mention of these issues was made in an explanation of the program. Invariably, there was some reaction to them (for or against them, or in reaction to their comprehensiveness) which was useful to field representatives at public meetings later on. These representatives could also get a feeling for the community's attitudes towards participation and towards government responsiveness. A third function of this meeting, its anticipated purpose, was to involve citizens in the administration of the program and to secure their commitment to generating interest in their community. Initially, a participation program must generate enough interest so that a first meeting is bound to have representation from most interests in the community.

The first public meeting, while constrained by the fact that nine issues had already been identified and set the tone for the meeting, was designed to determine just what issues existed. Apart from some cursory discussion, no attempt was made, nor should have been nade, to recommend solutions. Nor could a group be expected to make a complete study of everything brought up within the time constraints of the program. Therefore, the priority system was set up, and study groups were extablished to examine one or two concerns in some depth. These groups were to operate within the context of the OPLU process with all the support recommended.

Also in accordance with the model, the findings of advocate committees were to be debated at a public meeting, to generate recommendations to be passed on to the Cabinet Committee. This, in essence, is what the Committees did, so, to this point, the conceptual model, which is based on pragmatic experience, seems quite applicable to this case study. Since the citizens did most of what was expected of them, it is to be expected that the process will be successful. Even though the last few steps of the model are not included, it is possible that they will emerge in some format as an acceptable continuation of participation in decision-making.

Factors Affecting the Success of OPLU

While the foregoing section outlined the correspondence between OPLU and the steps of the model and, subsequently, its possible success, it did not demonstrate how well OPLU carried out these steps by utilizing the resources available to it. This, of course, bore directly on its practical chances for success.

After R.E.D.A. had outlined the process it wished to follow, the next step was to get the program into aciton. Since R.E.D.A. staff could not possibly cover the 84 centres which were included throughout the province, more staff had to be secured. While many programs are run with staff who are relatively new to the participation ideology, most of the staff hired by R.E.D.A. had some experience in dealing with citizens' groups.

Most of the new staff were to begin work about mid-June, 1974, but I was able to join the program on the 1st of June. By starting early, I was able to outline the areas in which I wished to work rather than wait for them to be assigned to me. My preference for areas within the city of Edmonton (with its 14 undesignated areas) and the transition areas (rural to urban) immediately adjoining the city could therefore be satisfied. This meant that not only could the whole process of participation in both rural and urban areas be studied, but there was the opportunity to compare and contrast the participation process in rural and urban areas. Both considerations were important to the thesis research design.

A training program on participation skills and program objectives for all the staff was held in mid-June. The emphasis was on such things as social action processes, what makes some programs "tops" and some "flops", how the representatives should handle difficult situations and how to get the most out of participants.

The study areas were then designated and representatives sent out into the field. There were many resources of varying degrees of usefulness available to the representatives. There was the project supervisor, a permanent part-time employee of R.E.D.A., who was readily available for discussion about program problems. There was also an administrative assistant, who doubled as so many other things for R.E.D.A. that she was able to do little more than follow directives from the R.E.D.A. Director. The Director, too, was available for limited consultation, but he provided few directives and even less liaison between representatives' problems and the requirements of the Forum Board. He was more concerned with the adminstration of the program to fulfill R.E.D.A.'s purposes, as described earlier in this chapter.

Understandably, most of the field representatives were too busy to discuss problems at length among themselves, but staff meetings did provide an opportunity for some issues to be resolved. From time to time, Forum members, Technical Task Force members or public relations persons were brought in to answer queries.

Several resources were promised to the field representatives for use in the study areas, such as information and technical assistance, but much of it came too little or too late. In addition to the problems with the written information mentioned earlier, R.E.D.A. allotted only a few copies of each of the full reports prepared on each of the nine terms of reference to be distributed in each study area. It was not realized, for instance, that The Parkland Acreage Survey would be of most interest to the citizens of the County of Parkland, but would not be of much interest to other parts of the province.

Funds were made available for advertising the program in each community, but they were totally inadequate for good use to be made of the urban area newspapers. Moreover, R.E.D.A. insisted that these budgets were not transferable, so that they had to be used in the originally assigned area or not at all. To make matters worse, publicity put out by the Forum rarely mentioned any connection with Operation Land Use and was usually relegated to the back pages of the newspapers in the urban areas.

One further gift form the Forum was an eight minute film depicting the Board members offering their hopes for useful recommendations from citizens. While this might have been useful at the initial meetings, it was not available until the later meetings.

The Technical Task Force, briefly mentioned earlier, was a group of about fifteen people who agreed to be resource persons for questions by citizens on the terms of reference. Oddly enough, no one from any planning agency including, in particular, the City of Edmonton Planning Department, was on the Task Force. Because many of the concerns brough up by the citizens with whom I worked were oriented to urban planning, very little use was made of the Technical Task Force services in urban situations. On the few occasions that they were used, though, they were of great benefit.

The final resource available to the field representatives was the contact lists drawn up by R.E.D.A. whose provious work in rural areas gave them a good appreciation of key people in those areas. In the vicinity of Edmonton, however, contacts were not derived form personal experience, but from extrapolation from rural experience.

The significance of this selection process is analysed later in this chapter. For the most part, it was an inadequate technique in the urban areas, so the lead time afforded me in early June was sorely needed to make up appropriate contact lists. These lists were continually added to during the program.

In some cases, I had to second resources myself. This applied mainly to areas to concern not covered by the terms of reference, or in situations where the avialable resources did not meet the need. These resources included such things as use of the media, information on issues, technical resources and contacts.

I usually notified about fifteen radio, T.V. and newspaper outlets prior to public meetings. Although the program suggested that advertising be delegated to members of the organizing committee, usually they were asked to advertise in their own area through community newspapers, posters, leaflets and contacts with other local groups. I usually handled the city-wide advertisements. Since there were guidelines to adhere to in using community announcement slots in the more broadly based media, and since consistency is reporting was important (e.g., always refer to Operetion Land Use to instill familiarity with the name) similar advertisements were used, changing them only when the community area changed. As was the case in the Okanagan Basin Study, the repetition of program processes at work and the use of the same people in films, meetings, radio and printed word all seemed to create an identity for the program to which citizens could respond. Similarly, I attempted to present a constant format here for ease of identification of the program.

From these advertisements, the media were also aware of the dates and locations of my meetings and they were generally interested in what would take place. The advertisements and a list of meeting dates were enough to bring an Edmonton Journal reporter to almost all the meetings. The R.E.D.A. Director wondered, however, why the reports were not making the front pages as they were in some of the smaller centres. This inability to comprehend the priorities of a large metropolitan newspaper was just one of the difficulties of a rural oriented association working in an urban area.

Community resources in Edmonton were utilized as well. ACCESS, a procincial government sponsored educational television channel, attempted for a while to put together a panel discussion/community inquiry type of series to be screened in early fall as part of the program in participation. As it turned out, their backlog of work and R.E.D.A.'s unwillingness to share the production cost, put an end to the schedule.

Another contact was made with the cable television stations. The program managers were enthusiastic about preparing a series of programs for wide showing at no cost.

With the approval of the R.E.D.A. Director, a station was selected and the first show was taped in an informal discussion format. Several people reported that they had seen it so it was moderately successful as an information and interest generating agent. Further shows were not run, unfortunately, due to lack of time and inadequate support form the R.E.D.A. staff.

The second resource area I developed was that of information. The Forum's own research program was limited to the terms of reference. Although this was not meant to limit the range of public discussion, and support was supposed to be available for other inquiries, requests for assistance met with failure. My main information sources proved to be the City of Edmonton Planning Department, the City Parks and Recreation Department, the Mill Woods Project Office, the Provincial Planning Branch, the Edmonton Regional Planning Commission and a number of private information sources.

The next group of resources, technical input, which was covered by the Technical Task Force, provided assistance only on the terms of reference, although sometimes directed more at a local situation and therefore more valuable than the background papers. Hence, when other issues arose that needed technical input, I was left to my own resources. It would be ludicrous to expect that those offering the opportunity for participation would have all the answers to problems and issues at their fingertips. The means for facilitating this need was there in concept, through the background papers and the Technical Task Force, but not in practice. The need for technical resources and data for this program far surpassed any one field representative's ability to provide it, so the program consequently suffered.

The last resource to be discussed is that of contacts. As stated earlier, contact lists drawn up by R.E.D.A. for OPLU were inadequate. Therefore, I found my first several weeks of employment were taken up with conversations with agencies such as the Edmonton Social Planning Coundil, the Edmonton Regional Planning Commission and the Task Force on Urbanization and the Future attempting to identify those groups and individuals in the city interested in land use planning issues. These conversations were often difficult because, on the one hand, the terms of reference did not generate too many contacts in urban areas and, on the other, an attempt was made to avoid prejudicing their suggestions by reference to problems that were clearly urban. The rask was not just to seek out the obvious problems, but to hear all community land use concerns.

While initially the mayor and aldermen were dismissed as anything more than token guests at meetings, upon reflection, the fact that elections were imminent would have meant their probable support and attendance. Indeed, they and several other candidates often appeared at meetings and were sometimes valuable resources. I avoided them because of their everyday attention to particular issues, without realizing that they might rather look at broader issues. As it happened, quite specific urban problems were voiced, and better use of the elected representatives might therefore have been made. As well, the problems evidenced in the CAP programs, while authorities were not included in the planning stages, were evident in OPLU. Although ultimate authority for carrying out recommendations rested with the provincial government, the localness of many issues may have ensured the interest and support of local authorities. On the other hand, I had enough difficulty trying to keep discussion at a level that would be beneficial to the relevant provincial departments without tempting citizens to narrow their focus with ward representatives and other civic authorities.

As pointed out in the R.E.D.A. program design, the method for developing community contacts resembled a chain reaction; leaders would be contacted who would then spread the word until, by the time the first public meeting was held, most people in that community would have heard about the program. In a community where the mayor, the editor of the local newspaper, the president of the chamber of commerce and the district agriculturalist made up the total of community leaders, the program design worked quite well. Since R.E.D.A. had been previously involved in the Man and His Resources program in rural areas, they were aware of the types of contacts that are necessary there. They felt that the same sorts of people would be appropriate in urban areas. However, where the community was but a small segment of an uran area (e.g., Jasper Place in Edmonton), it was necessary to contact people right in the local community. This took in such actors as the community leagues, schools, church groups, dispersed city and provincial government representatives within the area, service associations, community development/social action groups (i.e., community interest groups and action groups, coordinating councils, minority and ethnic group assiciations, ratepayers associations), culture, recreation and sports groups, and housing and accommodation groups. Naturally, the initial contacts had a great bearing on whether the program was successful in an area or even carried out in a particular community.

On the basis of discussions with contact people, a decision was reached as to whether or not a community needed or wanted the opportunity to participate in OPLU. Therefore, it was very important that initial contacts were as representative as possible of the community opinion. And yet, while the Forum was interested in hearing concerns and issues from a cross-section of the community, it was soon realized that the initial contacts need not represent a wide cross-section. To initiate participation, rapport with those who thought there were issues in the community was needed.

Prospects for Effective Participation

From this analysis of the resources utilized by OPLU, we observe problems not evidenced earlier. Earlier problems noted were of a nature which were no better or worse than in many of the other programs discussed and therefore not distinguishable as particularly problematic for the program of the Alberta Land Use Froum. Problems outlined in this section, however, have more direct effects and more impact on the probable success or failure of participative efforts in certain areas (which will be discussed in Chapter VI).

Such things as new staff, the training program, R.E.D.A. permanent staff and staff meetings, while sometimes a problem, were relatively unimportant to the general success of programs. Of much greater impact were the difficulties encountered with media resources, information, technical input and contacts. Generally, the problems in these areas only served to underline the importance of being able to use them effectively, as emphasized in the theoretical model. In addition, though, the importance of flexibility in the use of contacts, technical assistance and the media should receive stronger emphasis. Although OPLU did not make appropriate use of these latter resources, the results of their misuse of non-use demonstrate their importance in the model.

SUMMARY

To conclude this discussion of the total project data, a brief summary is provided of those areas within the model requiring change and strengthening.

The lagislative discussion which led to the establishment of the Forum was not considered to be promising; however, it was not considered to be damaging either, because it was no worse than many other programs analysed. The theoretical model assumes the intent is honourable if the opportunity for participation is offered. It is suggested here that legislative knowledge and approval of effective participation should be a prerequisite to embarking on a program.

The beginning of the actual program, it is suggested, should include an organizational meeting to obtain a perspective on local issues, as well as on local attitudes towards particiaption and on the assistance available within the community for generating further interest.

An indication of issues by an authority, while considered appropriate in the model, was never meant to take the place of raising other issues which consciously or unconsciously took place within the Land Use Forum. Rather, the advance identification was intended to act as an interest generating agent. It is a role which has to be carefully guided, and the use of these advance issues as actual issues for discussion should be openly questioned.

The provision of and access to information is probably the area in which the Forum was most negligent and which, according to the model, is very important. The problem was felt not only in the provision of technical information for use by study groups, but also in advising the general public, through a much wider and more effective use of the media, of what the study groups were saying and doing.

NOTES AND REFERENCES - CHAPTER V

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CHAPTER VI

THE OPLU FIELD EXPERIENCE: INTERVENING FACTORS

Although a highly regarded participation method may be applied to a program, the success of the particular program is not automatically assured. Intervening factors may create problems. As well, there may be as many of these factors as there are areas in which the program is applied, and the same grouping of factors may not guarentee success or failure from one case to another. However, it was suggested in Chapter III that a theoretical model would at least present a procedure to follow, even if different sets of factors were in operation. The purpose of this chapter, then, is to evaluate the role of intervening factors by comparing the experiences of a number of different OPLU study areas utilizing the same participation model. This may provide new insights into effective participation and lead to amendments in the model. I shall again refer to factors such as the criteria for the selection of study areas, the role of contacts, and the availability of information and technical assistance, but this time at the study area level. In addition, I will examine such things as the timing of the program and its various components, the reaction to the terms of reference of the Forum, the issues brought out by citizens in study areas, the degree of citizen concurrance with R.E.D.A.'s program, the local initiative to participate and follow the program, and the results of participation in that study area.

INTERVENING FACTORS IN EDMONTON STUDY AREAS

Generally, as seen in many of the programs described in Chapter III, participation programs have been offered to issue specific areas; that is, to areas which are defined by the issues at hand. For example, poverty in the inner city areas, as addressed by MCP and CAP, generally involved inner city residents. The nine terms of reference of the Land Use Forum, on the other hand, were considered to be of equal importance to everyone in Alberta and, therefore, R.E.D.A.'s division of Alberta into more than 80 areas, determined by the crude "distance to meetings" criterion, would seem appropriate. Difficulties in using this criterion for the selection of rural study areas were discussed in Chapter V. Here, however, I shall deal specifically with the selection of study areas within Edmonton. By this, I mean the types of areas that it was thought important to consider, and which ones actually were considered and why.

The Selection Process

Although certain areas were known to have exhibited concern for certain land use issues in the past, this program neither addressed itself to any one issue in particular, nor to any one area of the city. Therefore, the initial consideration of areas did not focus on those where issues might emerge, but rather on the variety of areas within the city which should be given the opportunity to participate. This not only gave a great number of people in a variety of areas the opportunity to participate, but, as will be shown later, incidentally identified enclaves of issue oriented groups and action oriented areas.

This attention to the types of areas in the city directed attention to the outlying newer areas (e.g., Aspen Gardens), to slightly older and stable residential areas (e.g., Hardisty), to those areas exposed to varying degrees of multiple family and experimental housing, or what could be described as large innovative areas of the city (e.g., Mill Woods), to the inner city residential areas (e.g., Norwood), to the river valley communities (e.g., Riverdale), and to older areas incorporated into the city after their initial development (e.g., Jasper Place). Within each of these categories, it was expected that several communities could be identified.

Within the constraints of the available time and manpower, the final choice of study areas could not be a rigorous one. First, an attempt was made to gauge generally the similarity of communities within a particular category. If they compared quite closely, it was decided that is was not necessary to examine each individually. The gauges used todetermine this similarity were geographic position in the city, size (area and population), age, physical condition and general socio-economic status of the residents.

Only after types of areas were considered was an attempt made to identify communities in each category which had previously shown interest in land use issues, or were known to be confronting an issue, or were believed to be in need of some assistance in confronting issues. In this way, not only was it possible to cover examples of most community types and, indirectly, their characteristic problems, but the important issues of the day could also be addressed. This avoided the uncomfortable situation of creating issues in order to secure participation from an area.

Not surprisingly, as pointed out in Chapter V, some of the original communities were not interested from the outset, some withdrew, some were added and some never finished the program. Most of those selected, however, did participate in the program and succeeded in expressing their concerns and recommendations. Moreover, at all times there was an attempt to maintain a representative mix of all types of communities in the city.

The difinition of exact boundaries for the study areas within the city was not desirable due to the broad nature of the response solicited by OPLU. Where communities were known to be previously contesting certain land use proposals, their boundaries were more rigorously delimited, but, even so, interest could range further than the confines of the area immediately affected. Therefore, while areas were delineated by the boundaries of the named communities (e.g., Norwood), responses were also invited from adjoining areas which may have had some of the same concerns. The invitation to adjoining areas left the opportunity for splinter groups to emerge and possibly take over from an uninterested designated area. This occurred in the Beverly area and is documented later. However, there were seldom any people from outside these named communities attending designated area meetings. A brief description of the criteria used in the selection of each study area and an evaluation of whether or not these criteria seem valid in retrospect, is provided below.

In terms of the geographic division of the city, several types of areas are immediately distinguishable. There area newer areas contiguous to the built-up city, such as Aspen Gardens and Duggan in the south, and Londonderry and Dickensfield in the north. As well, Mill Woods, a newer area, quite large and slightly apart from the built-up area, stands out. Areas of middle age (some 15-20 years old) emerge in the south-east (e.g., Capilano, Hardisty), in the south (e.g., Malmo Plains) and in the west (e.g., Meadowlark, Laurier Heights). Slightly older areas of the city were not as outstanding, but nonetheless evident (e.g., Belgravia and Westmount). Older areas incorporated into the city long after their development were evident in discussions as well (e.g., Beverly and Jasper Place). Other areas that are very evident in both their appearance and their geographic juxtaposition are the downtown residential areas (e.g., the older Norwood and McCauley areas and the mixed Oliver area) and the quite old river valley communities (e.g., Riverdale, Rossdale and Cloverdale) and the older residential area near the University (e.g., Garneau) and the Strathcona historical area on the south side of the City. It was felt that, although not a rigorous testing of the types of areas within the city, this did constitute at least a starting list from which others might emerge and on which initial discussions on possible areas for inclusion in the program could focus.

It was at this point that opinion on the choice of areas to be included was solicited from bodies such as the Edmonton Social Planning Council, the Task Force on Urbanization and the Future, the City of Edmonton Social Services Department, the City of Edmonton Planning Department, and the Edmonton Federation of Community Leagues, as well as through a variety of individual contacts. In addition, my own knowledge of Edmonton and its communities was quite good, having lived in the city for many years.

These discussions produced a great variety of suggestions. Opinion ranged from the need for an objective analysis of the types of areas which existed in the city, much as discussed earlier, to subjective assessments based on those areas that the discussant was familiar with in a working or personal capacity. There were also those who differentiated between what were similar areas in physical appearance and in position relative to certain benchmarks in the city (e.g., Downtown), as well as areas which were differentiated from each other by socio-economic statndards, size (area and population), physical conditions and activeness (either in reacting to actions threatening the existance of their community or in maintaining the status quo of their area).

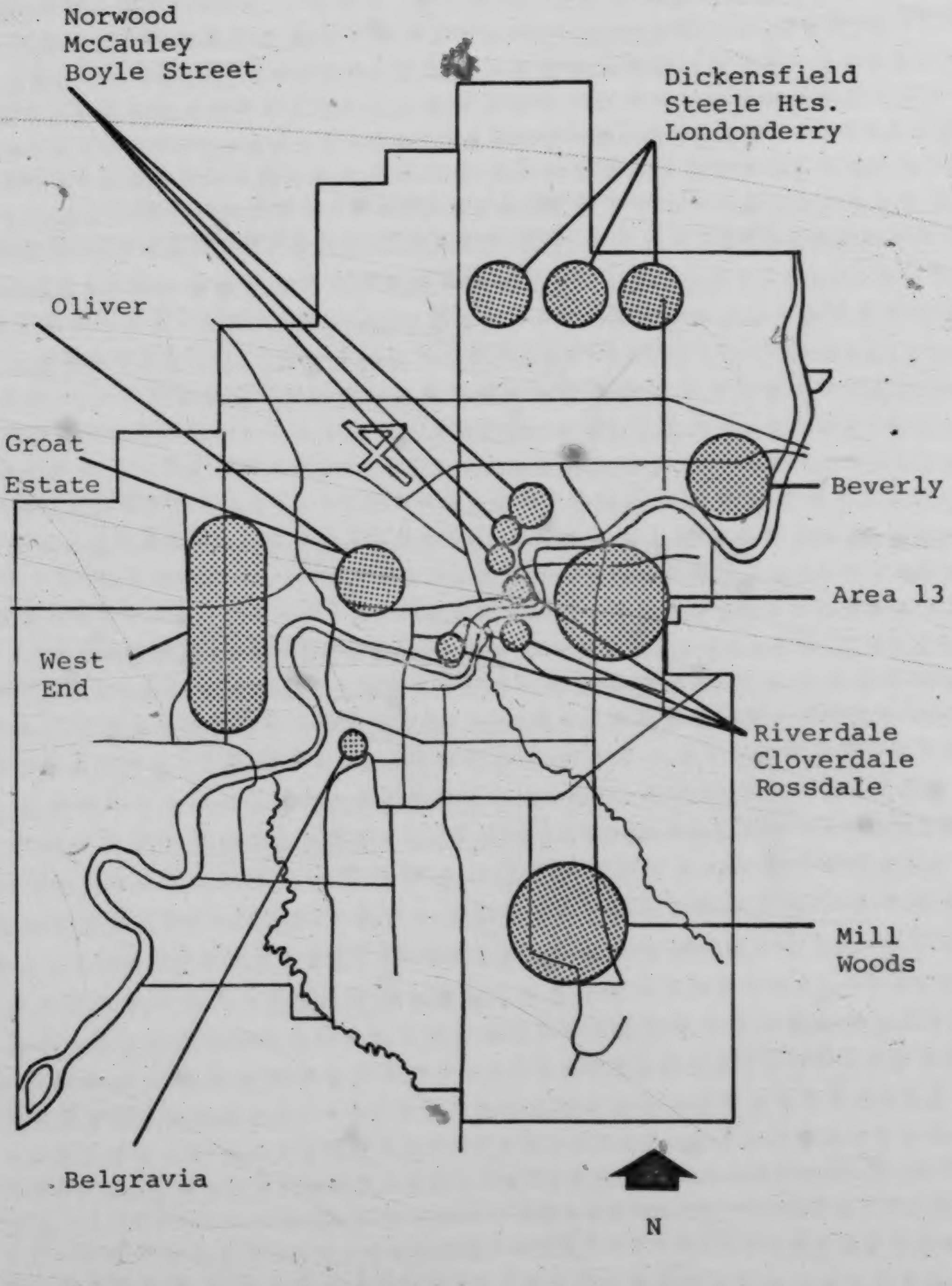
Those areas which, in a number of peoples' opinion, and for a number of reasons, were felt to be important, were strongly considered as possible study areas for the program. Others, because the list of areas to be considered was never very long, were also considered, though their participation was not so vigorously courted initially.

The Edmonton Areas

Those areas considered for inclusion in the participation program are noted in Figure 8, as is the evidence used to support their choice. As well, a brief description is given of the success with which each community adapted to the program format and made its concerns known. Problems in achieving the objectives of the program (i.e., following through the R.E.D.A. process and submitting briefs on concerns) will also be discussed. These and other factors as they relate to each study area are noted on a chart in Table 1. A look at the completed chart should indicate at

Figure 8

Urban Study Areas for Operation Land Use


Norwood
McCauley
Boyle Street
Dickensfield
Steele Hts.
Londonderry
Oliver
Groat
Estate
Beverly
Area 13
West
End
Riverdale
Cloverdale
Rossdale
Mill
Woods
Belgravia
N

Note: 1976 Boundary of the City of Edmonton a glance which factors are most likely to create problems in this participation process. This, in turn, may indicate the changes that are needed in the model or the factors to beware of in applying the model in the future.

Six newer areas in the city were initially considered: Aspen Gardens, Petrolia and Duggan in the south, and Londonderry, Dickensfield and Steele Heights in the north. While approximately of the same age (all under 15 years old) and in same geographic position in the city relative to the downtown, the developments in the north differed somewhat from those in the south. Visual examination revealed that the southern communities obviously were of a more expensive type of accommodation and probably therefore of higher socio-exonomic status. The northern communities had many more higher density developments and social housing developments. As well, they had more areas cited for future developments, but as yet not started (e.g., future school sites, vacant land classed as agricultural use, etc.). While both areas could be experiencing the pressures for innovative planning that most newer areas of the city are, upon investigation, it was found that the large percentage of the population under the age of 18 and the lag in the provision of community facilities (e.g., educational, recreational and social) that many new communities face, accentuated the problems of the northern area. Further, while there were subtle differences in the appearance and character of the areas in the south, the apparent similarity of those in the north led me to believe that a program offered there might address common problems of a larger group than in the south. Some cursory investigation also revealed that because of the many common issues facing the area in the early 1970's, many interest groups had already come to work together under the guise of the Area 17 Coordinating Council; they appeared to have an organized infrastructure, whose resources might possibly be employed.*

Discussions with the City of Edmonton Social Services Department's representative in the Duggan office did not reveal the same level of concern or community organization in the south. While the evidence in support of presenting the program to one area over the other is not strongly conclusive, the north appeared slightly more disposed to a program of this nature at that time, so was selected as representative of newer communities in the city.

The program began here as in most other communities, with an attempt to reach key contacts in the area to generate interest in an organizational meeting. From this point on, however, the program failed to reach its objective.

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*The City Parks and Recreation Department have, for the purposes of administering the recreational needs of the city, divided the city into several areas (e.g., Area 1,2, etc. up to 17). Since several areas were becoming interested in input on other items of their area's business, other than recreational matters, some of these areas brought all their member communities together and formed Coordinating Councils. These Councils are composed of community people and have formed out of the will of the communities. Consequently, some have formalized and some have not. Area 13 in the south-east portion of the city will be discussed later in this chapter.

The organizational meeting drew only three of the twelve people contacted. All three were representatives of organizations serving the area; none lived within the area. When follow-up conversations with those not in attendance brought little more interest, an attempt was made to let the entire study area know what it had missed through publication of a letter in the North-East Edmonton News (the Area 17 newsletter). When this failed to bring any more response, the program was too near completion to attempt another organizational meeting, so the area was dropped from the program.

There are three factors considered as contributing to this failure. The first is that while there appeared, from conversations with initial contacts, to be sufficient concern over land-use issues within the area to warrant the program, little had apparently been accomplished through participation in the past. Discussions with the City Parks and Recreation and Social Service representatives for that area revealed that at one time, there was active interest in many issues. At the time of the creation of the Area 17 Coordinating Council, there were some 150 groups involved, just from that area. But since they were gathered mostly for the sake of gathering and not to deal with specific issues, interest waned and participation has been poor in that area ever since. This may lend support to two notions about participation: participation need not be continuous since the enthusiasm generated by an issue is apt to be lost; and participation for participation's sake is useless--it must be directed towards the attainment of some goal.

The second factor considered here is that the original contacts were poor and most of them were involved in many other things, though key people in a community usually are.

A third factor was the timing of the program. The organizational meeting was called in early September just when many people, and especially those involved in a lot of activities, were organizing clubs and teams for the fall and winter. It was therefore felt that one more interest, especially one whose worth was not immediately apparent, was just too much to be involved in.

The next group of areas to be considered in the city was those slightly older but stable residential areas. This took in communitites 15 to 20 years old, including Capilano and Hardisty in the southeastern Edmonton area, Malmo Plains in the south, and Meadowlark and Laurier Heights in the south west.

As it happens, I was employed by the Area 13 Coordinating Council (in which Capilano and Hardisty were included) in the summer of 1971 to carry out an Opportunities for Youth Program. I was therefore familiar with that area and its organizations, and some of their concerns. The Coordinating Council in this area was very well organized and had carried on a liaison with civic and provincial government agencies for several years on issues of local concern.

The organization of the other areas considered in this community age-bracket was not known nor did it surface in any of the discussions mentioned earlier in this chapter.

Many of the communities in this age-bracket were experiencing a drastic decline in the school enrollment and in the intensity of use of many facilities in their areas. This may be attributed to the aging of the families in the area and the concomitant age structure of the community. In Area 13, for instance, over 60 percent of the population was over 18 years old.

The only thing particularly characteristic of the southeast area at this point is its organization. Another criteria for selection of study areas was the degree to which they have been or were confronting issues, or were in need of assistance to confront issues. It so happens that the Provincial Government had recently announced its decision to construct Capital City Park, a large public park meant to capitalize on the natural river valley running through the City of Edmonton. The eastern portion of this park was to take in lands bordering Area 13, so residents were most interested in examining this concept further. Issues in other areas were not readily apparent.

Area 13 was subsequently selected for three reasons: its organizational structure, the community age structure and its effects on use of land and facilities in the area, and the possible reaction to the Capital City Park proposal.

Contact was first made with the Coordinating Council in July, 1974. A meeting could not be arranged with the Council until early September, though meanwhile, interest was being generated through the community newspaper, the "Open Door". At the meeting in September, the Council were very interested and enthusiastic and felt that their community should indeed take advantage of this program. In general, participation in this area was a positive experience, though there were some qualifying factors.

While the original contacts were excellent (the Coordinating Council), one of the principles of such a well organized group is to pass some responsibility on to others. One of the Council members arranged for me to meet a group of people who might assist me in getting the program to the local communities. While some of those seconded to assist were eventually helpful, I quickly learned that the key people in the community are necessary in organizing such a program, both for quick understanding and for quick service. Even though the best contacts could not be utilized in this case, I shall not note poor contacts as detracting from the program, for those that were utilized did their best in their own way, and so many other channels were open for use in an organizing capacity that it was no problem to arrange the meeting. In fact, contact will be noted here as a positive contributor to the program.

The use of media in this area was excellent, though it is not clear whether it contributed to the program success. While the usual resources were tapped (as noted in Chapter V), coverage was provided on three occasions through the area newspaper, through leaflets inserted in grocery bags at shopping centres, through posters put up in various locations throughout the area, through my participation in a Community Outreach Night (an evening of displays in an area school outlining a number of services operating in and available to the area), and through a one-half hour cable television show with representatives of the Forum Baord, R.E.D.A. and muself noting the importance of the program to the community and inviting people to participate. The fact that only 20 people turned up to the first public workshop would indicate that perhaps the media coverage was not worth the effort.

There were a few other problems which may have negated any positive effects that the good coverage may have provided. A late start on the program in the community (into late October for the first workshop) may have meant that people were committed to other activities. As well, the program assumed that study areas would be organized around the terms of reference and that OPLU would provide an organizing force to bring concerned citizens together. In an area like this, the program might better have tried to fit into the Area 13 method of operation rather than trying to pull several people away from the organization to work on the program.

In this case, the workshop was able to generate discussion on many of the terms of reference. As well, there were some unusual concerns (which in retrospect should have been predictable). I feel both can be attributed to the age of the communities and their previous involvement in identifying issues and recommending solutions to them. The age of the communities meant that many of the problems experienced in newer areas of the city had been taken care of. Their participation in the past meant that they were familiar with participating and had merely to address themselves to the issues needing discussing. They were able to incorporate any community concerns into the level of discussion (e.g., broad-based land use concerns) desired by the program and have them dealt with as well (e.g., concern over Capital City Park and concern that as the neighbourhood gets older, its needs are different and hence its land use might be reconsidered).

The program ended well. Briefs were submitted to the Forum which, considering the time and the manpower available, were fairly good presentations. Their quality was probably enhanced by the fact that the advocate committee was drawn from a fairly concerned and interested twenty people from the first workshop.

The third group of communities was slightly older. The normal range was between 20 and 30 years, and the initial selection included Belgravia, Parkallen and Windsor Park in southern Edmonton and Westmount in the north-west. Because neither the age nor the location of these areas put them under pressure for renewal, they typify the mature stable areas of the city. Their needs can therefore be expected to be different from the younger areas already described. Moreover, it was not surprising to find that there was little interest in organization and little felt need for a program such as OPLU. It was, therefore, difficult to determine which amongst this bracket of commuities might be singled out. Quite late in the program, the Community Association of Belgravia contacted me about their area's possible participation, arising chiefly from their desire to restructure the recreational services in the community to reflect its changing age structure. While this appeared to be a unique opportunity to discuss an issue that was or would be facing many areas of the city as they got older, I quickly found that the Community Association was already well organized and just needed just an endorsement of their proposal. While the Forum might have seen fit to back the proposal, it was not one that was suited to the OPLU program.

Belgravia was also embroiled, with its neighbour, McKernan, in a battle with the City of Edmonton Transportation Department over a proposed widening of a street between the communities (114th Street). OPLU was again looked to, to support the communities' case, but not because they were in need of organizational assistance. While in the previous case of Area 13 I felt that community organization was a problem in that it was difficult for OPLU to operate without accepting their organizational structure, in the Belgravia case it was difficult to find any role for OPLU. The communities were so far along in the identification of issues, and in organizing support for their solutions, that OPLU could make no contribution. It would have been irresponsible of me to offer a program that advocated the examination of a wide spectrum of broadly-based issues to communities whose only concern was narrowly focussed.

A number of factors intervened in this experience. The first is that, while it is only fair that the invitation to participate should go out to the whole community (if a program warrants it, as OPLU did), the agency offering the program must be wary of the vested interests of biased interest groups who may try to use the program to their advantage. In this case, the program could have been undermined by backing the existing organizations. It could have been accused of political activity, of being too narrow in focus and of being a program willing to support any type of local issue. While the program did, in some cases, concern itself with some very specific issues (as will be seen later), they were generated through the program and, wherever possible, were extrapolated to broader concerns.

The terms of reference of OPLU were definately a limitation in this case. People wanted the organization to give them its endorsement, but not on issues that OPLU was designed to treat. The communities' concerns were too localized.

Another factor needing examination here is the narrowness of the program itself. In this case, it became clear that OPLU was not equipped to offer assistance on issues that were not as broadly based as the terms of reference. While it would be foolish to construct a program that dealt with any level of any issue, it would have been useful to have had some mechanism for helping those people whose concerns could not be dealt with in the program (e.g., a one person clearing house at OPLU offices). Otherwise, the program runs the risk of criticism by concerned citizens who cannot use it.

While I spent a considerable amount of time offering the program to this area, it did not participate and the program's goals were not achieved, although I personally gained some insight into effective participation.

The next city areas to be examined constituted an obviously troubled and geographically distinct group of communities in Edmonton; the river valley communities of Rossdale, Riverdale and Cloverdale. Taken together, their population is very small (only about 3,400) but their voice is loud. Although all are in the river valley, they are physically separate and were therefore considered separately. All were initially considered as possible study areas, to avoid having to start at the beginning again if the chosen one dropped out. As it turned out, because of past failures in pleading their problems individually, they decided to try to work together on common issues.

This area constitutes the best example in the city of a study area which was able to follow through the whole program from organizational meeting, through Public Workshop No. 1 and Advocate Committees to Workshop No. 2. There were, however, many factors contributing to the operation of the program in this area which should be examined.

In Riverdale and Rossdale (which both participated to a greater degree than Cloverdale), the active groups were aware of the Forum and its program. This adds substance to the Skeffington suggestion of providing publicity about a program when it is announced.

The second factor to consider is the response to the terms of reference. While I explained to two organizational meetings (Riverdale and Rossdale) that I would want to explain the scope of the Forum's work and the number of issues that could be raised, I was assured that only one issue would arise and prevail, that of the possible razing of all three communities through construction of the proposed Capital City Park. The localness of the issue and its particular relevance at that time were almost disastrous for OPLU. It meant that the first workshop gathered a large, difficult-to-manage group composed of outraged and emotional individuals who had experienced nothing but delays and failures in their previous attempts to secure a hearing. At the risk of being another uncaring government body, I was able to persuade the group that their issue was indeed indicative of a broader problem, one that could be examined through OPLU. Their issue was the displacement of older residential areas by what governments considered a "higher and better use", one that has more redeeming features than the present one.

It is debatable whether one should approach an area steeped in negotiation over a local, burning issue with a broader based program just to make use of the potential participatory activity being generated at that time. If quite impossible to broaden the concern to the level needed, then perhaps, as suggested in Belgravia's case, a clearing house should be established so the area is not completely "turned off" participation when a particular program is not able to help them out.

Since OPLU was not, in the end, able to provide the most acceptable forum for airing their concerns, the advocate committee elected, after submitting a brief to OPLU, to continue with their crusade. At one point, however, the group had grown, as had the breadth of the issue, to the point where their work was very confused and frustrating to them. This, I think, indicated the need, as mentioned in Chapter III, for programs to be at a workable scale and carried out within a reasonable length of time.

Timing of the program in this case was not too important, as the issue was pressing enough to obtain participation anytime the organizing mechanism (in this case, OPLU) was offered. In other instances, as was seen in the Area 13 case and will be noted again, if the reasons for participating are not immediately obvious, other things can take precedence.

The factors contributing to participation in this study area were original contacts who were aware of the program and eager to utilize it, and high publicity (in this case, in the form of media coverage of the group's opinions).

The next residential areas to be examined were those within or adjacent to the core of the city. These included such communities as Norwood, McCauley and Boyle Street to the east of downtown, and Oliver to the west. As with the river valley communities, all these were initially approached because of their different appearance and different pressures on each (e.g., pressures for civic redevelopment in the east, and for business and residential redevelopment in the west). Since the communities in the east were contiguous and relatively homogeneous, they were treated as one; taken together, their population was only 8,000. By contrast, Oliver (including the small Groat Estate area to the west of 124th Street), contained some 20,000 people and was characterized by considerable redevelopment to high-rise office and apartment buildings.

The Norwood, McCauley and Boyle Street area will be examined first. This is one of the oldest parts of the city, but only recently have its residents begun to resist the pressures of decay and redevelopment and to fight for improvements. The Boyle Street Co-op, for instance, was set up to take care of the social needs of the Boyle Street residents, and has become an action centre for warding off redevelopment pressures. In the Norwood area, the Norwood Neighbourhood Association and The Norwood Community Service Centre have both pressed for more community facilities. Bearing this activity in mind, I thought this an excellent district in which to offer our program. However, an organizational meeting revealed that, while residents were interested in discussing local issues, they would probably be uninterested in discussing broadly-based land use concerns such as the Forum's terms of reference. Repeated attempts to interest more factions of the community met with similar response. Even when I attempted to generate interest in OPLU through the discussion of local issues, difficulties arose, a few of which stand as intervening factors to be considered here.

While the original contacts appeared quite active and generally interested in OPLU, their interest subsided when they noted the breadth of the terms of reference. Further problems arose when I suggested meeting with each of the agencies involved thus far. When the contact was made, the interest seemed less than at the organizational meeting. Three factors are important at this point:

i) the importance of original contacts

ii) the need to have terms of reference that appeal (to some degree) to all to whom the program is offered

iii) the importance of an organizational meeting

While it may be a good strategy to exploit the resources of a well-organized community or, in this case, a community which has shown its enthusiasm for helping to solve problems, it is definitely dangerous to attempt to inject a new stream of thought into an area which is already actively engaged in problem-solving. It may result in the community's program being aborted and its participants being frustrated and "turned off" participating. Or, in this case, the OPLU program could have been so changed in theme as to render its results useless to the Forum. The factors most pressing here are the timing of OPLU's offer relative to other activities in the community, and the danger undermining the focus of one program or the other, or both. It might, especially in this case, attest to the need to start participative programs out at a local level, discussing local issues, and building on that base to have the community participate in broader concerns later.

The second area in this group, Oliver and its vicinity, it strikingly redeveloped in a high-rise form.

Not surprisingly, a high proportion of its population is over 18 years of age (91 per cent).

The area was singled out for study because of its proximity to the central business district of Edmonton. Because of the problems associated with its location, and the resultant variety in its physical and social structure, it appeared to be a prime candidate for participation in a program dealing with land use concerns. As an older area, it has, on the one hand, some very attractive features in its single-family residences; on the other hand, it is frought with one of the city's most difficult land use problems, that of accommodating changes in an older area.

Having secured space in two community newspapers prior to an organizational meeting in September, I was disappointed to have only a few residents attend. Apparently, between the time of contacting people to attend the organizational meeting and the actual date, an announcement from the City of Edmonton Planning Department was made to the effect that a working group was to be funded to establish a development plan for the Oliver area. Many of the contacts thought this opportunity would be of more immediate relevance to them than OPLU.

The major intervening factor to this point is that closer attention should have been paid to the characteristics of the agencies contacted. Instead of joining the crusade to obtain participation, I perhaps should have recognized the unlikelihood of participation in the area and either dropped my attempts or altered the program. Once again, familiarity with past participation was important.

What did arise from the meeting, however, was the concern of the smaller, Groat Estate area to the west of Oliver. For the most part, this is an old sector of the city, comprised of some 6,300 residents whose homes were under constant threat from civic, business and transportation developments. In this sense, their concerns were not unlike McCauley, Norwood or Boyle Street. Semi-organized groups from this area frequently petitioned and attended City Council meetings in hopes of protecting their neighbourhood from the many external pressures. Their previous participation gave them some advantage in understanding and carrying out the tasks required by OPLU.

A second organizational meeting in Groat Estate produced a much shortened and altered program which eventually worked with fair success. This program highlighted some further intervening factors, a few of which were beneficial and some which detracted from participation. One of the latter was the provision of information, which became a problem because the Groat Estate concerns did not fall within the terms of reference of the Forum. Despite the assurances, the Forum did not provide information on other issues that arose. Even if a group was able to obtain adequate information on its own, this information would need to be well documented for the Cabinet Committee to give any credence to recommendations that were derived from it. The presence of, or willingness to collect information on all significant issues relevant to a program is a factor in good participation.

Another factor is that, unlike the Norwood/McCauley/ Boyle Street area, which was in the middle of a heated issue, Groat Estate was in a period of inactivity. So the timing, although good in terms of the program format, was bad for generating interest.

A third factor is the need for program flexibility. While, on the one hand, radical departures from the program format may make it difficult for the Cabinet Committee to amalyse the response from a particular study area, and compare it with other responses which conform to the program, insistence on the original format in Groat Estate would have meant little or no participation or a completely frustrating experience for both the program promoters and the participants. The program also needs to be flexible in terms of the area selected. If a program is not area specific (and OPLU was not), areas selected for inclusion may need to be altered. While this was possible to an extent in the city, the areas outside the city were quite rigidly established (as will be noted later).

The next type of area examined here is called, for want of a better title, West Edmonton. In general, the opportunity for participation in the program was not well distributed in the western portion of the city. While Jasper Place was considered under "areas annexed to the city", and some districts east of 142nd Street were embraced in earlier groups, the areas lying west of 142nd Street were largely overlooked. I was not closely familiar with their physical layout, and condition, nor with their community interest in land use or other issues, but I was aware of a Neighbourhood Improvement Program (NIP) being carried out in the Canora community and therefore, thought this a good place to start.

An organizational meeting, using the Canora NIP office as a focus, brought only community "civil service" type people who worked in the area. Discussions discouraged me from further effort, but I ventured on another organizational meeting after an R.S.V.P. letter went out to several community citizens. The response was poor and was followed by no response to a letter in the community newsletter. This led me to close the file on Canora.

From the local contacts which were made, a number of intervening factors stand out as worthy of mention in the Canora case. Little prior participation of this nature, and relatively poor community leadership and organization, were probably the main factors inhibiting the program. Good contacts were made but there was no commitment from the general citizenty, and the opinion at the organizational meeting was that a public workshop would do no better because there were no pressing issues.

The seventh residential grouping took in those older areas which were incorporated into the city after they were fairly well developed. In this category, the areas known as Beverly and Jasper Place were considered.

A general feeling for Jasper Place was noted in contacts with the West Edmonton area just discussed. Its lack of organization and past participation steered my away from it initially. On the other hand, it was known to be experiencing pressures for change and redevelopment, though perhaps not as much as Beverly. And yet, while much of Jasper Place desperately needed redevelopment, Beverly impresses as a much more pleasant community, and pressures for increased densities or further development met with greater resistance. This resistance had, in the past few years, led to a Beverly Task Force on Housing to determine the implications of changing pressures on the community. As well, the Capital City Park was to include land within the Beverly area. The prevailing issues and past participation were then the major motives for selecting Beverly over Jasper Place.

The organizational meeting brought a very good number of community people, many of whom were from the Beverly Task Force on Housing. This Task Force accomplished little while it existed, and disbanded with nothing to show for its work except some discouraged citizens. Those in attendance at the organizational meeting likewise tended to be uninterested. Apart from telling me what I should do, they were very little help, even though they felt the program whould be offered to the area.

A great deal of work on my part ended in a dissastrous turnout at the first public workshop (amongst five in attendance, only two were from the organizational meeting). Another workshop was quickly organized. A relatively large group (about 45) heard about the meeting and attended en masse to object to a public housing project to be added to an already fairly densly populated portion of the study area (Abbotsfield). From there on, even though the issue was very local, the area conformed to the program fairly well and a brief was eventually submitted.

A number of factors emerge here. One is that I should have recognized that the contacts at the organizational meeting, all of whom emamated from one source, did not adequately reflect a range of community attitudes. Either I should have contacted others or, if I was to place any faith in the organizational meeting, I should have accepted the uninterest as indicative of general community feeling.

Though excuses of poor timing were given as a reason for poor attendance at the first public workdhop, the second was bolstered by 45 people from a single interest group.

Timing, then, does not seem to have been a legitimate factor here, but the localness of the issue was, and the existence of a known issue was imperative before participation could occur. Administrative assistance from the organizational meeting might have been poor but the publicity for meetings was good. Even so, attendance was drawn largely from one interest group, suggesting that media publicity was an ineffective way of generating interest in this example.

Because the Beverly program was quite late in starting, it was altered somewhat to make it possible for the group to finish their task by December. Just as the flexibility in the program allowed me to adjust to a smaller, more local area, so did it offer enough flexibility to achieve its goal on time.

As with the Groat Estate and Belgravia cases, the program was used to produce a stance which might better have been submitted to the civic government, but which was, as an aside, also presented to the Forum.

Obtaining information from the Forum again proved to be difficult. It was only through the resourcefulness of the field representative that this group was eventually able to get enough information to complete its task.

The final city area was Mill Woods. It is a large new district which sits slightly apart form the built-up area and incorporates a number of innovative features in urban design. Though only a few years under development at the time of the Forum's program, it was felt that discussions with citizens of this area might uncover some heretofore unmentioned concerns. At the very least, it was expected that they would have many of the same concerns as the residents of other new arees. The only known organization at that time was the Community Association, so the organizational meeting was arranged as a portion of one of the Association's regular meetings. The response was very favourable and arrangements were made immediately for the first public workshop. The rest of the program was carried out according to the format, with three briefs eventually being received.

Again, however, a few intervening factors leave the success of the program open to question. Even though discussion of some of the nine terms of reference occurred at the first workshop, along with discussion of some local issues, no advocate committees formed on these broader issues, which leads, once again, to the conclusion that local issues will always prevail over broader ones. A second factor, repeated yet again, was the lack of information from the Forum on the issues under study. Fortunately, in this case, recommendations could still be produced. The advocate committee had resources enough, or seconded enough resources, to present well documented submissions. While publicity was no less than normally received, it still is unknown whether more publicity for any area workshops would have resulted in much more participation. In this case, and in some others, the second public workshop, designed for the general public to hear recommendations from the advocate committees, was poorly attended. Whether publicity would have helped this meeting or not is unknown, but the second workshop was generally not as successful as was hoped.

A stronger emphasis on the reasoning behind the second workshop (i.e., that the provincial government will establish policy on the basis of recommendations emanating from this meeting) might possibly have resulted in better attendance. This points out a last factor to be considered here; that there needs to be an obvious link between participation and government action. This is noted in the model but not provided for in the Forum's program.

INTERVENING FACTORS IN RURAL STUDY AREAS

The criteria used for the selection of study areas in the rural districts of Alberta were noted in Chapter IV. As my area of responsibility included a number of areas immediately surrounding Edmonton, I was concerned over the fact that some communities to the west of the city (i.e., Spruce Grove and Stony Plain) were to be included in the Drayton Valley study area. I felt that they probably had pressing concerns which were associated with their proximity to Edmonton. I was therefore successful in urging that the eastern portion of Parkland County should be added to my study areas. This left me the responsibility for generating interest within the City of Edmonton, the Counties of Leduc and Strathcona, the eastern portion of Parkland County and the M.D. of Sturgeon. As centres for meetings in the rural areas, I chose Sherwood Park in the centre of Strathcona, Leduc in the County of Leduc, Stony Plain in the County of Parkland and St. Albert in the M.D. of Sturgeon.

As mentioned in Chapter V, a list of contacts had been built up by R.E.D.A. through their work in rural Alberta in other programs. In the case of the smaller towns, these contacts generally consisted of the mayor, Chamber of Commerce representatives and the local newspaper editor and, in the case of the Counties, the reeve, councillors, the district agriculturalist and other involved citizens. These contacts often proved helpful to OPLU, but other factors entered into the effectiveness of the program in these areas.

What follows is the brief description of how well these study areas outside Edmonton adapted to the program format and succeeded in making their concerns known. The factors contributing to or detracting from success in these areas is also noted on the chart in Table 1.

The frist area to be discussed is the eastern portion of the County of Parkland, an area generally bounded by the City of Edmonton to the east, Carvel Corner, a junction some 50 miles west of Edmonton on Highway 16, the North Saskatchewan River to the south and the boundary of the County to the north.

There were several reasons besides the proximity of this area to Edmonton that prompted me to seek its inclusion in the program. It continually incurs the threat of expansion by the City of Edmonton; it has been inundated by considerable acreage development in the last several years through overflow population from Edmonton; it contains two quickly growing communities, Stony Plain and Spruce Grove; and it is in the heart of a water recreational resort district. An overall concern is that it is losing valuable farmland to accommodate all of the above.

As the first rural area worked in, my apprehensions were quickly dispelled by the good response to requests for assistance and to the program itself. My first contact was the district agriculturalist whose Minister (the Minister of Agriculture for the Province) sat on the Cabinet Committee for the Forum and who made sure everyone in his department was familiar with the work of the Forum and ready to help.

An organizational meeting was arranged (with assistance far surpassing any received in Edmonton) and resulted in suggestions for other key contacts, courtesy invitations to the first public workshop, arrangements for the workshop and assurances that local area leaders would assist in administrative details for the meeting (i.e., promotion, posters, hall, coffee, etc.).

With such a good beginning, it would have been difficult for the program to have failed. The public workshops were generally well attended; the advocate committees met; and briefs were presented to the Forum. There are a number of factors that led to this success, but two are particularly relevant. One is the contacts, without whose assistance and enthusiasm the program would not have been as successful. I should note here that contacts suggested in rural areas generally consisted of key people in the political and administrative aspects of community life. This departs quite sharply from the contacts made in Edmonton who, by and large, comprised members of known interest groups and associations in the study areas and, quite noticeably, did not inlcude those types of contacts made in rural study areas. While the rural contacts were generally very good, it cannot be stated with any confidence whether it was the type of contact or other factors which led to greater success in rural areas. It can only be reaffirmed that contacts are a very important part of a program's success.

The other factor needing special mention is the terms of reference. In the city, the terms of reference had been the biggest hurdle in bridging the gap between what the program was offering and what citizens wanted. In the Parkland case, however, since one of the terms of reference was the use of agricultural land for urban expansion, and one of the reports produced by the Forum was entitled Parkland Acreage Development, this study area could hardly help but be very interested. Moreover, a number of other issues emerged and closely resembled other terms of reference.

Another intervening factor was that the program was based on one used by R.E.D.A. in rural areas before and had produced good results previously. Also, R.E.D.A. was a fairly well-known organization in rural areas. Mention of its name usually brought immediate recognition, and my offer of participation and request for assistance were met more receptively than in the Edmonton study areas. Finally, while participation had not been as frequent or as heated as was generally the case in the city, any past involvement was addressed directly to the Provincial Government and usually brought results. The OPLU participants did not have to bridge a gap between their concern and the body who was offering to assist in solving it.

At the same time, the Parkland study area was not totally devoid of problems. While the program suggested that advocate committees should meet on their own, the participants felt that interest could be maintained through another workshop at which they could break into their groups to meet with Technical Task Force representatives. In fact, though, these meetings provided an opportunity for socializing with people living some distance apart. Unlike the urban area meetings, where participants were intent only on airing and resolving their concerns, recognition must be given to the ancilliary purposes of such programs and meetings in rural areas. A program must be cognizant of the soical characteristics of the population it involves.

Lastly, this area had the same problem as many urban areas with its final public workshop -- a lack of attendance. While this may have meant a growing lack of interest in the program, it may, as was speculated about some urban area attendances, have indicated that most participants felt their concerns had been aired and that advocate committees would represent them adequately in the final recommendations.

The second rural area included in the study was the County of Strathcona. As with the County of Parkland, it was felt that this area bore the brunt of many serious land use problems because of its proximity to the City of Edmonton. One major issue in the past had been numerous acreage developments which, besides taking over valuable agricultural land, had been the source of many battles among residents, the County and the Edmonton Regional Planning Commission. A second issue,again as in the County of Parkland, was the pressure for expansion from Edmonton and its concomitant effects on the County. A third potential issue was the large hamlet of Sherwood Park and its servicing needs; this was the problem of a dormitory suburb in a rural jurisdiction.

Initial contact found many key people on holidays. Eventually an organizational meeting was held in September (relatively late in the program). A good representation of community leaders expressed a need for the program and a willingness to assist in carrying it out.

The first public workshop brought out over 100 citizens, the largest turnout at any of my workshops. As was the case in other rural study areas, this first session was held after harvest (i.e., into late October, early November) to ensure a better turnout. According to the organizers, time was a most critical factor in rural areas. I invited a representative from the Edmonton Regional Planning Commission to the first workshop and because upcoming elections brought out many aspiring candidates, the air was charged with criticisms of government bureaucracy and the role of the ERPC in the County. While a list of concerns was established, little was accomplished in the way of forming advocate committees because of the lateness of the meeting and predominance of other issues.

Another meeting for anyone interested in joining advocate committees was set up. Only a few responded which adds to the notion that commital should be obtained when interest is high (i.e., at the first public workshop). Since this was very late in the program, the interested parties were not able to complete their submissions on time, although they were presented at the public hearings of the Forum in the spring of 1975. Since the program was not finished, the submissions were not reviewed at a second public workshop and do not reflect, so far as is known, the feelings of anyone in the study area besides those few people working on them.

Several factors emerged from the experience in this study area. Unlike some other areas, where the program failed to be completed because of a poor attendance at the first public workshop, this study area attained a high initial turnout but still failed to get much further. With that turnout and the list of concerns that did emerge, the rest of the meeting should have focussed on the job at hand, which was to form advocate committees. The ERPC representative should have been introduced only to clear up any misunderstanding about matters of concern to him. Similarly, political candidates should have been subdued to the point where they contributed to the meeting rather than dominating it. It was difficult, however, to separate the politicians from the citizens and even more difficult to squelch their discussion in such a large crowd. There appear to be two intervening factors here. One is that other matters should not be allowed to dominate the discussion if a task is to be accomplished, and the second is that there need to be contingency plans available to handle different sizes or types of crowds.

Another factor that needs to be noted here is that, just as the length of a whole program should be short enough to accomplish the task satisfactorily, so a particular meeting should not be allowed to dwell too long on one issue. In this case, the criticism of bureaucracy extended until many people left.

Another factor is that if advocate committees are not formed at the first workshop, it is problematic that the same people or the same issues will not emerge at a further meeting. This results in briefs whose representativeness and backing is completely unknown. One of the pillars of the OPLU program was that briefs presented to the Forum should have the endorsement of the study area they were received from. There must, then, be some continuity to the participation throughout a program; whether by having the same citizens participate throughout or through new participants accepting what has gone before. Otherwise, a program might never finish, but continually be caught up in the redefinition of issues.

A final brief point concerns publicity. Although it was not any greater than in other study areas, its placement in local papers and on rural-oriented radio stations and its timing after harvest, did much to genreate interest in the first public workshop.

The third rural study area examined here is the County of Leduc. Although it is further from Edmonton than the County of Strathcona, it does contain a relatively large town (Leduc) and houses an increasingly larger number of residents who work in Edmonton. This, in turn, creates pressures on the agricultural land around the town and other pressures for services within the town (e.g., shopping and recreational).

The contacts suggested in the County again proved to be very helpful. Those within the Town of Leduc were at the time in discussion with the Department of Environment over annexing and developing land to the west of town for residential purposes. Although invitations were addressed to several town councilmen and other key town leaders, as well as County ones, the organizational meeting was attended predominantly by County contacts.

Because of this emphasis, the public workshop was relocated from Leduc to Calmar, some 15 miles west but still within the County. Just as Sherwood Park residents were not well represented and hence had little say in the last example, so this shift in the County of Leduc deterred Leduc residents from attending. Even so, the rest of the program was quite successful in the County. The workshops were held and briefs were submitted. Moreover, an attempt to return the program to Leduc for the second workshop was vetoed by the participants.

In this case, contacts were central to the success of the program. They both indicated enthusiasm about the program and assisted in many administrative details which were difficult for me to handle in Edmonton. Again, they were familiar with R.E.D.A. and the Forum. Furthermore, the terms of reference were acceptable to them.

On the negative side, it is probable that participation was determined by the meeting location. Certainly, few participants were from Leduc. Owing to the good county representation at the organizational meeting, I believe that a workshop in Leduc would have brought county and town residents together for a much more interesting meeting. As it was, both here and in the County of Strathcona, a very important urban component was missing from meetings. In future, attention to the various segments of the community should be noted and dealt with before a program begins.

The media coverage of the program in this area was quite good, as was promotion. This lends credence to the notion that the media can be helpful both in generating interest and in maintaining it.

A last factor to consider here is the timing of the program in an area where the intended focal point (the Town of Leduc) was already involved in a contentious issue. A program should not try to intercept another program part way through for that is likely to create confusion among the citizens and lead, eventually, to a decline of interest.

The last area included in this discussion is the M.D. of Sturgeon. Bearing in mind the program progress in other rural areas, I could see a pattern developing which tended to exclude urban centres within rural study areas. Consequently, in analysing the prospects for the program in the M.D. of Sturgeon, I felt that the experience of the other rural areas would be repeated if the focus of the program was on Legal or Morinville. Participation would be good, but rural oriented. Therefore, I was determined to concentrate the program in St. Albert, a town of over 20,000 inhabitants quite close to the City of Edmonton.

To avoid the problems encountered in other rural areas in trying to keep the meetings in larger centres, I avoided the usual contacts (e.g., district agriculturalist, reeve), and tried to contact town interest groups. However, I found at a late stage that the interest groups were mainly recreation oriented and not at all useful to OPLU. The Town Council was approached but was too involved in upcoming elections. One informed interest group, the Community Planning Committee of St. Albert (CPC), was very interested but also involved in the elections. All this led to a delay in the program until the elections were over. As it happened, several CPC members were elected with the result that, as well as losing valuable time while the new council members got acquainted with the job, what was left over was a list of losers with less interest in the program than before the elections.

A meeting with the new council on November 12, 1974, to inquite how we might carry out the program in the community, brought out a suggestion for a one day workshop to accomplish all that two workshops and the advocate committees otherwise produced. A mandate was given to the Town

Planner of St. Albert and myself to consider this, but it was later disclosed that the plan would need to be returned to council in two weeks for endorsement. The time available after that was too short and too near Christmas and the end of the program to be very fruitful, so another suggestion of Council, that they make a submission to the Forum at their hearings in the spring, was recommended. At this point it was far too late to consider running the program back through the M.D. in the same way that it had been run in the counties earlier. Unfortumately, submissions were not received from either the rural community (which might well have shown interest) or the urban one (which was interested by could not coordinate the timing of its activities with those of OPLU).

A last set of intervening factors emerged through this study area experience. First, since the contacts in the other rural jurisdictions had proved so good, I should at least have included them in the organization of the program in this area, even if the fact that the meetings were concentrated in St. Albert turned a few of them away. By insisting on using town contacts, I ran directly into the problem of conflict with their elections. As in many study areas in Edmonton, when one organizational format failed, another should have been worked on immediately. Had the idea of a one day workshop not needed ratification by Council, it may have worked quite well in the total time frame of the program. This emphasises the need for a program to to be flexible to account for unanticipated poblems like elections, foreshortened programs or financial setbacks, as mentioned in Chapter III.

Because the Town Council had little direction in formulating their suggestions to the Forum after OPLU was completed, and ahd considerable time to forget the program, no submission was ever made. A key factor in several of the programs described in Chapter III was the need for a program to be short and regimented enough to sustain interest and get things done. This was completely lacking in St. Albert after OPLU ended.

ANALYSIS OF FACTORS

The results of the area-by-area evaluation are presented in Table 1. The logical next step, is to review that data, to try to identify the most significant intervening factors, both negative and positive, in the OPLU program.

After considerable preliminary examination, it was felt that analysis would be aided if the intervening factors were divided into categories. These are denoted by the subtitles down the left side of Table 1. They are:

1. Community Factors - these comprise the factors that the administrators of a program need to be cognizant of before offering the program to an area.
2. Factors important to the introduction of a program to an area.
3. The issues arising and the information available about them.
4. Factors relating directly to the R.E.D.A. program-factors which either R.E.D.A. or those participating would have to consider.

It was further felt that a clearer picture of the importance of these factors might emerge if the table were divided between those areas which were considered to have succeeded in attaining the goals of the program and those that failed. As well, if a factor contributed to participation in an

Table 1

Factors Contributing to or Detracting from Participati

CATEGORIES	STUDY AREAS INTERVENING FACTORS	Area 13	Riverdale Rossdale Cloverdale	Groat Estate	Beverly	Mill Woods	County of Parkland W.	County of Leduc	Belgravia	Norwood McCauley Boyle Street	Oliver	West End
Community factors	1. Past participation in the area.	▒	▒	▒	▩		▒	▒		▩	▩	▩
	2. Presence of organization in the community.	▒	▒	▒	▩	▒			▩	▩		▩
	3. Various sectors of community needing recognition.							▩				
Introduction in community	4. Agency offering the program.						▒	▒				
	5. Contacts for organizational meeting.	▒	▒	▩	▩	▒	▒	▒		▒	▩	▩
	6. Their previous knowledge of the program.		▒				▒	▒				
	7. The organizational meeting itself.		▒	▒	▩	▒	▒	▒		▒	▩	▩
Issues and information on them	8. Presence of issues in an area.			▩	▩	▒/▩			▩			▩
	9. Localness of issues.		▩	▩	▩	▩	▒	▒	▩	▩		
	10. Using program as a tool.		▩	▩	▩	▩	▒	▒	▩			
	11. Terms of reference.		▩	▩		▒	▒	▒	▩	▩		
	12. Information available.			▩	▩	▩	▒					
Factors relating directly to the R.E.D.A. program.	13. Timing of OPLU in the area.			▒	▒/▩		▒	▒	▒	▒		
	14. Selection of meeting locations in study areas.							▒				
	15. Ability to accept or adapt to program model.	▩		▒/▩	▩				▩	▩		
	16. Flexibility of the program.			▒	▒		▒					
	17. Continuity of people and ideas throughout the program.											
	18. The amount of work taken on, and the time available to do it.		▩/▒									
	19. Media and publicity.	▒	▒		▩	▒	▒	▒				
	20. Choice of Study Area.											

Successful Areas

Unsuccessf

Key

▒ Factors Contributing to Paritcipation

▩ Factors Detracting from Participation

1of

Table 1

Factors Contributing to or Detracting from Participation

STUDY AREAS ERVENING FACTORS	Area 13	Riverdale Rossdale Cloverdale	Groat Estate	Beverly	Mill Woods	County of Parkland W.	County of Leduc	Belgravia	Norwood McCauley Boyle Street	Oliver	West End	Dickensfield Steele Hts. Londonderry	County of Strathcona	M.D. of Sturgeon
Past participation in the area.	▒	▒	▒	▩		▒	▒		▩	▩	▩	▩	▒	
Presence of organization in the community.	▒	▒	▒	▩	▒			▩	▩		▩	▩		▩
Various sectors of community needing recognition.							▩						▩	▩
Agency offering the program.						▒	▒						▒	
Contacts for organizational meeting.	▒	▒	▩	▩	▒	▒	▒		▒	▩	▩	▩	▩	▩
Their previous knowledge of the program.		▒				▒	▒							
The organizational meeting itself.		▒	▒	▩	▒	▒	▒		▒	▩	▩	▩	▩	
Presence of issues in an area.			▩	▩	▒▩			▩			▩			
Localness of issues.		▩	▩	▩	▩	▒	▒	▩	▩				▒	
Using program as a tool.		▩	▩	▩	▩	▒	▒	▩					▒	
Terms of reference.		▩	▩		▒	▒	▒	▩	▩					
Information available.			▩	▩	▩	▒							▩	
Timing of OPLU in the area.			▒	▒▩		▒	▒	▒	▒			▩	▒	▩
Selection of meeting locations in study areas.							▒						▒	▩
Ability to accept or adapt to program model.	▩		▒▩	▩				▩	▩					
Flexibility of the program.			▒	▒		▒							▩	▩
Continuity of people and ideas throughout the program.													▩	
The amount of work taken on, and the time available to do it.		▩▒											▩	▩
Media and publicity.	▒	▒		▩	▒	▒	▒						▒	
Choice of Study Area.														

Successful Areas (Area 13 – County of Leduc)

Unsuccessful Areas (Belgravia – M.D. of Sturgeon)

Key

▒ Factors Contributing to Paritcipation

▩ Factors Detracting from Participation

2 of 2

area, I felt it important to differentiate it from one that detracted from participation. Table 1 then performs three functions:

1. It divides the factors into categories.
2. It divides the successful from the unsuccessful study areas.
3. It differentiates between the factors that contributed to the program and those that detracted from it.

Two other points are worth noting before the analysis begins:

1. The purpose of this analysis is to determine which, if any, of the factors documented in the tables is significant enough (either contributes or detracts from participation to a significant degree) to warrant change in the theoretical participation model.
2. Blank spaces on the tables indicate one of three things, none of which changes the analysis of the filled spaces:
    a) It is unknown if this was a factor in this area.
    b) It was not a factor in this area.
    c) The presence of this factor in this area had no measurable effect one way or the other on this area's participation in the program.

While not all the factors are important in all of the communities, since there are entries in only 121 of the 226 spaces that are available (about 45 per cent), it is possible to discern that a number of factors was common to a number of study areas, and also that a large number of factors was important to those areas which achieved success in the program. Further, while almost half of the factors recorded in the successful areas could be interpreted as contributing to participation (46 out of 74 factors noted), this was true of less than one-fourth (about 11 out of 47) of the factors recorded in the unsuccessful areas. This last comparison may be somewhat unfair for, although the number of successful areas equals the number of unsuccessful ones, more intervening factors were indentified in the successful areas than in the unsuccessful ones (74 as compared with 41).

The following inferences can be drawn from the table. First, those factors which generally contributed to participation in the successful areas were either nonexistent or detracted from participation in the unsuccessful areas. For example, factors one and two, "Past participation in the area" and "Presence of organization in the community when they arose, generally contributed to participation in successful areas but detracted from it in unsuccessful ones. Similarly, "Contacts for the organization meeting" and the "Organizational meeting itself" were factors often noted as contributing to participation in the successful areas while working negatively in the unsuccessful ones. The only other factors that appear partially contributory in the successful cases are "Media and publicity" (which cannot be compared well with the unsuccessful areas because it did not normally appear there) and "Flexibility of the program" which, while contributing to participation in all cases cited in the successful areas and detracting in the unsuccessful ones, was noted only five times in total. No other factors appear to contribute much more than they detract from participation in the successful areas except one, "Timing of OPLU in an area". It appeared to contribute as often in successful cases as unsuccessful ones although it was not a factor at all in many of the study areas.

On the other hand, there are several factors which, while detracting from participation in the successful cases, also detracted in the unsuccessful cases, where they arose. For example, all the factors under "Issues and information on them" generally detracted from participation when noted, even in the successful areas. The one exception was "Terms of reference", which only detracted marginally.

A general interpretation of this situation reveals that, at least in the urban areas, where issues were already present in an area, they tended to be localized in nature; that is, they related most noticeably to that one particular area. Further, this usually meant that those making use of the organized program to bring their issues to the fore were using it as a tool to organize a statement of their concerns. This statement was then to be submitted to other sources more able to help them more than the Provincial Government. The localness of these issues often meant that they did not conform to the terms of reference and, consequently, did not receive the research and information that were allotted to concerns falling within the terms of reference. All this says to this point is that in many of the successful and unsuccessful areas, issues existed which were highly localized and this led to other problems with information and with the concept of the program. This tells us little until we note that, generally, these same factors contributed to participation in two successful areas (the Counties of Parkland and Leduc) and in one unsuccessful area (the County of Strathcona). Since all of these are, roughly speaking, "rural areas" (at least when compared with those areas within the City of Edmonton), it may be suggested that where issues existed (and were perhaps, for that reason, pressing) in the urban areas, they tended to be outside the terms of reference and were thus difficult to accommodate in the program. Where they existed in the rural areas, they tended, although localized, to conform to the terms of reference and could be dealt with successfully.

While little more can be said of the successful versus unsuccessful areas, a new line of comparison is suggested. This is the comparison of urban and rural study areas.

If the order of Table 1 is changed to separate the urban and rural study areas, many of the factors take on a new focus (see Table 2). Examining just the incidence of factors demonstrates that:

a) While only three out of 10 urban study areas (30 per cent) showed 10 or more factors as significant in participation, three out of four rural study areas (75 per cent) has as many.

b) About one-half the spaces under the category "Community factors" are checked off in both urban and rural study areas.

c) While less than half the factors are noted under "Introduction to the communities" in urban areas, 75 per cent are filled in rural areas.

d) Roughly equal proportions of factors are filled in the category "Issues and information on them" (about 40 per cent).

e) In "Factors relating directly to the R.E.D.A. program", rural areas display about twice the proportion of factors of urban areas (about 38.5 per cent to 20 per cent).

f) Similarly, about twice the proportion of factors are filled under the criterion "Media and publicity" for rural areas than in urban areas.

Table 2

Incidence of Factors in Urban versus Rural Areas

CATEGORIES	INTERVENING FACTORS / STUDY AREAS	Area 13	Riverdale Rossdale Cloverdale	Groat Estate	Beverly	Mill Woods	Belgravia	Norwood McCauley Boyle Street	Oliver	West End	Dickensfield Steele Hts. Londonderry	County of Strathcona
Community factors	1. Past participation in the area.	▒	▒	▒	▒			▒	▒	▒	▒	▩
	2. Presence of organization in the community.	▒	▒	▒	▒	▒	▒	▒		▒	▒	
	3. Various sectors of community needing recognition.											▩
Introduction in community	4. Agency offering the program.											▩
	5. Contacts for organizational meeting.	▒	▒	▒	▒	▒		▒	▒	▒	▒	▩
	6. Their previous knowledge of the program.		▒									
	7. The organizational meeting itself.		▒	▒	▒	▒		▒	▒	▒	▒	▩
Issues and information on them	8. Presence of issues in an area.			▒	▒	▒	▒			▒		
	9. Localness of issues.		▒	▒	▒	▒	▒	▒				▩
	10. Using program as a tool.		▒	▒	▒	▒	▒					▩
	11. Terms of reference.		▒	▒		▒	▒	▒				
	12. Information available.			▒	▒	▒						▩
Factors relating directly to the R.E.D.A. program.	13. Timing of OPLU in the area.			▒	▒		▒	▒			▒	▩
	14. Selection of meeting locations in study areas.											▩
	15. Ability to accept or adapt to program model.	▒		▒	▒		▒	▒				
	16. Flexibility of the program.			▒	▒							▩
	17. Continuity of people and ideas throughout the program.											▩
	18. The amount of work taken on, and the time available to do it.		▒									▩
	19. Media and publicity.	▒	▒		▒	▒						▩
	20. Choice of Study Area.											

Urban Areas

Key

▒ Urban Areas

▩ Rural Areas

1of

Table 2

Incidence of Factors in Urban versus Rural Areas

STUDY AREAS NTERVENING FACTORS	Area 13	Riverdale Rossdale Cloverdale	Groat Estate	Beverly	Mill Woods	Belgravia	Norwood McCauley Boyle Street	Oliver	West End	Dickensfield Steele Hts. Londonderry	County of Strathcona	M.D. of Sturgeon	County of Parkland W.	County of Leduc
1. Past participation in the area.	▒	▒	▒	▒			▒	▒	▒	▒	▩		▩	▩
2. Presence of organization in the community.	▒	▒	▒	▒	▒	▒	▒		▒	▒		▩		
3. Various sectors of community needing recognition.											▩	▩		▩
4. Agency offering the program.											▩		▩	▩
5. Contacts for organizational meeting.	▒	▒	▒	▒	▒		▒	▒	▒	▒	▩	▩	▩	▩
6. Their previous knowledge of the program.		▒											▩	▩
7. The organizational meeting itself.		▒	▒	▒	▒		▒	▒	▒	▒	▩		▩	▩
8. Presence of issues in an area.			▒	▒	▒	▒			▒					
Localness of issues.		▒	▒	▒	▒	▒	▒				▩		▩	▩
Using program as a tool.		▒	▒	▒	▒	▒					▩		▩	▩
Terms of reference.		▒	▒		▒	▒	▒						▩	▩
Information available.			▒	▒	▒						▩		▩	
Timing of OPLU in the area.			▒	▒		▒	▒			▒	▩	▩	▩	▩
Selection of meeting locations in study areas.											▩	▩		▩
Ability to accept or adapt to program model.	▒		▒	▒		▒	▒							
Flexibility of the program.			▒	▒							▩	▩	▩	
Continuity of people and ideas throughout the program.											▩			
The amount of work taken on, and the time available to do it.		▒									▩	▩		
Media and publicity.	▒	▒		▒	▒						▩		▩	▩
Choice of Study Area.														

Urban Areas **Rural Areas**

Key

▒ **Urban Areas**

▩ **Rural Areas**

Through this division between urban and rural study areas, some intervening factors achieve new significance.

Factor 2 - "Presence of organizations in a community" appeared to be universally important in Table 1, but Table 2 shows that it was important only in urban areas.

Factor 3 - "Various sectors of the community needing recognition" attains significance only in rural areas. This no doubt arises because the population dealt with in urban areas was commonly issue and area specific, whereas in rural areas I had to take note of populations in towns and rural areas, farmers and acreage owners.

Factor 4 - "Agency offering program" gains significance in rural areas. This arose because of R.E.D.A.'s previous work in the rural areas.

Factor 14 - "Selection of meeting locations in study areas" gains significance in rural areas for some of the same reasons as factor 3. It appears important to select basically rural meeting locations for rural community meetings (e.g., Calmar in the County of Leduc and Ardrossan in the County of Strathcona).

Factor 16 - "Flexibility of program" was considered as a marginally important factor in Table 1, but takes on new significance in Table 2, specially in rural areas. Probably, though, this factor did not owe its notation in these areas to the fact that they were rural. It could easily apply to any area, depending on the circumstances at the time when the program was offered. The need for flexibility seems more dependent on the timing of a program than on its format. Therefore, more importance is attached to the "Timing" factors mentioned only briefly in the Table 1 analysis.

Table 2 also throws new light on those factors which contribute to or detract from participation. Tables 3 and 4 have been drawn up to depict this further breakdown of factors. As can be seen, they too are separated into urban and rural areas but, unlike Table 1, say nothing of success or failure. A number of striking facts emerge from these two additional tables:

- Only one of the factors previously significant actually contributes to participation to a great degree. This is factor 19, "Media and publicity".
- Surprisingly, factors 1 and 2, "Past participaiton in the area" and "Presence of organization in the community", detracted from participation just as much as they contributed to it in urban areas, though they contributed where noted, in rural

Table 3

Factors Contributing to Participation

CATEGORIES	STUDY AREAS INTERVENING FACTORS	Area 13	Riverdale Rossdale Cloverdale	Groat Estate	Beverly	Mill Woods	Belgravia	Norwood McCauley Boyle Street	Oliver	West End	Dickensfield Steele Hts. Londonderry	
Community factors	1. Past participation in the area.	▒	▒	▒								☒
	2. Presence of organization in the community.	▒	▒	▒		▒						
	3. Various sectors of community needing recognition.											
Introduction in community	4. Agency offering the program.											☒
	5. Contacts for organizational meeting.	▒	▒			▒		▒				
	6. Their previous knowledge of the program.		▒									
	7. The organizational meeting itself.		▒	▒		▒		▒				
Issues and information on them	8. Presence of issues in an area.					◢						
	9. Localness of issues.											☒
	10. Using program as a tool.											☒
	11. Terms of reference.					▒						
	12. Information available.											
Factors relating directly to the R.E.D.A. program.	13. Timing of OPLU in the area.			▒	◥		▒	▒				☒
	14. Selection of meeting locations in study areas.											☒
	15. Ability to accept or adapt to program model.			◤								
	16. Flexibility of the program.			▒	▒							
	17. Continuity of people and ideas throughout the program.											
	18. The amount of work taken on, and the time available to do it.		◢									
	19. Media and publicity.	▒	▒			▒						☒
	20. Choice of Study Area.											

Urban Areas

Key

▒ Urban Areas

☒ Rural Areas

Table 3

Factors Contributing to Participation

STUDY AREAS VENING FACTORS	Area 13	Riverdale Rossdale Cloverdale	Groat Estate	Beverly	Mill Woods	Belgravia	Norwood McCauley Boyle Street	Oliver	West End	Dickensfield Steele Hts. Londonderry	County of Strathcona	M.D. of Sturgeon	County of Parkland W.	County of Leduc
st participation in the area.	▒	▒	▒								▩		▩	▩
esence of organization in the mmunity.	▒	▒	▒		▒									
rious sectors of community eding recognition.														
gency offering the program.											▩		▩	▩
ntacts for organizational eting.	▒	▒			▒		▒						▩	▩
eir previous knowledge of e program.		▒											▩	▩
e organizational meeting self.		▒	▒		▒		▒						▩	▩
esence of issues in an area.					◢									
calness of issues.											▩		▩	▩
ing program as a tool.											▩		▩	▩
rms of reference.					▒								▩	▩
formation available.													▩	
ming of OPLU in the area.			▒	◤		▒	▒				▩		▩	▩
lection of meeting locations study areas.											▩			▩
ility to accept or adapt to ogram model.			◤											
exibility of the program.			▒	▒									▩	
ntinuity of people and ideas roughout the program.														
e amount of work taken on, d the time available to do it		◢												
dia and publicity.	▒	▒			▒						▩		▩	▩
oice of Study Area.														

Urban Areas

Rural Areas

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▒ Urban Areas

▩ Rural Areas

Table 4

Factors Detracting from Participation

CATEGORIES	STUDY AREAS INTERVENING FACTORS	Area 13	Riverdale Rossdale Cloverdale	Groat Estate	Beverly	Mill Woods	Belgravia	Norwood McCauley Boyle Street	Oliver	West End	Dickensfield Steele Hts. Londonderry	County of Strathcona	M.D. of
Community factors	1. Past participation in the area.				▒			▒	▒	▒	▒		
	2. Presence of organization in the community.				▒		▒	▒		▒	▒		⊠
	3. Various sectors of community needing recognition.											⊠	⊠
Introduction in community	4. Agency offering the program.												
	5. Contacts for organizational meeting.			▒	▒				▒	▒	▒	⊠	⊠
	6. Their previous knowledge of the program.												
	7. The organizational meeting itself.				▒				▒	▒	▒	⊠	
Issues and information on them	8. Presence of issues in an area.			▒	▒	◢	▒			▒			
	9. Localness of issues.		▒	▒	▒	▒	▒	▒					
	10. Using program as a tool.		▒	▒	▒	▒	▒						
	11. Terms of reference.		▒	▒			▒	▒					
	12. Information available.			▒	▒	▒							⊠
Factors relating directly to the R.E.D.A. program.	13. Timing of OPLU in the area.				◢						▒		⊠
	14. Selection of meeting locations in study areas.												⊠
	15. Ability to accept or adapt to program model.	▒		◢	▒		▒	▒					
	16. Flexibility of the program.											⊠	⊠
	17. Continuity of people and ideas throughout the program.											⊠	
	18. The amount of work taken on, and the time available to do it.		◢									⊠	⊠
	19. Media and publicity.				▒								
	20. Choice of Study Area.												

Urban Areas

Ru

Key

▒ Urban Areas

⊠ Rural Areas

1of

Table 4

Factors Detracting from Participation

STUDY AREAS ERVENING FACTORS	Area 13	Riverdale Rossdale Cloverdale	Groat Estate	Beverly	Mill Woods	Belgravia	Norwood McCauley Boyle Street	Oliver	West End	Dickensfield Steele Hts. Londonderry	County of Strathcona	M.D. of Sturgeon	County of Parkland W.	County of Leduc
Past participation in the area.				▒			▒	▒	▒	▒				
Presence of organization in the community.				▒		▒	▒		▒	▒		☒		
Various sectors of community needing recognition.											☒	☒		☒
Agency offering the program.														
Contacts for organizational meeting.			▒	▒				▒	▒	▒	☒	☒		
Their previous knowledge of the program.														
The organizational meeting itself.				▒				▒	▒	▒	☒			
Presence of issues in an area.			▒	▒	◣	▒			▒					
Localness of issues.		▒	▒	▒	▒	▒	▒							
Using program as a tool.		▒	▒	▒	▒	▒								
Terms of reference.		▒	▒			▒	▒							
Information available.			▒	▒	▒							☒		
Timing of OPLU in the area.				◢						▒		☒		
Selection of meeting locations in study areas.												☒		
Ability to accept or adapt to program model.	▒		◢	▒		▒	▒							
Flexibility of the program.											☒	☒		
Continuity of people and ideas throughout the program.											☒			
The amount of work taken on, and the time available to do it.		◢									☒	☒		
Media and publicity.				▒										
Choice of Study Area.														

Urban Areas

Rural Areas

Key

▒ Urban Areas

☒ Rural Areas

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areas. This leads to the conclusion that while participation and community organization are important factors to consider in urban areas where participation is being encouraged, they do not automatically guarantee success or even contribute to participation.

- Similarly, the fact that contacts were made and organizational meetings held (factors 5 and 7) does not spell success, since in more than half the urban areas where these factors were noted, they detracted from participation.

WHAT CONCLUSIONS CAN BE DRAWN?

The final task in this chapter is to determine what conclusions can be drawn about the ways in which these factors contributed to or detracted from effective participation. They are outlined in this final section (see also Table 5).

First of all, a few factors were not mentioned often enough, whether in the successful/unsuccessful comparison (Table 1), or in the urban/rural comparisons (Tables 2, 3 and 4), to warrant being classified as important factors in citizen participation programs. These include:

Factor 6 - Their (a community's) previous knowledge of the program.

Factor 17 - Continuity of people and ideas throughout a program.

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Table 5

Factors of Significant Importance to the Model

CATEGORIES	STUDY AREAS INTERVENING FACTORS	Area 13	Riverdale Rossdale Cloverdale	Groat Estate	Beverly	Mill Woods	Belgravia	Norwood McCauley Boyle Street	Oliver	West End	Dickensfield Steele Hts. Londonderry	County of Strathcona
Community factors	1. Past participation in the area.	▧░	▧░	▧░	▧░	▧░	▧░	▧░	▧░	▧░	▧░	░
	2. Presence of organization in the community.	▧░	▧░	▧░	▧░	▧░	▧░	▧░	▧░	▧░	▧░	
	3. Various sectors of community needing recognition.	▧	▧	▧	▧	▧	▧	▧	▧	▧	▧	▩
Introduction in community	4. Agency offering the program.											▨▓
	5. Contacts for organizational meeting.	░	░	░	░	░	░	░	░	░	░	▨░
	6. Their previous knowledge of the program.	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
	7. The organizational meeting itself.											▨
Issues and information on them	8. Presence of issues in an area.	▧	▧	▧	▧	▧	▧	▧	▧	▧	▧	▨
	9. Localness of issues.	▧	▧	▧	▧	▧	▧	▧	▧	▧	▧	▨
	10. Using program as a tool.	▧	▧	▧	▧	▧	▧	▧	▧	▧	▧	▨
	11. Terms of reference.	▧	▧	▧	▧	▧	▧	▧	▧	▧	▧	▨
	12. Information available.	▧	▧	▧	▧	▧	▧	▧	▧	▧	▧	▨
Factors relating directly to the R.E.D.A. program.	13. Timing of OPLU in the area.											▓
	14. Selection of meeting locations in study areas.											░
	15. Ability to accept or adapt to program model.											
	16. Flexibility of the program.											
	17. Continuity of people and ideas throughout the program.	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
	18. The amount of work taken on, and the time available to do it.	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
	19. Media and publicity.	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓
	20. Choice of Study Area.											

Urban Areas

Key

▓	Contributes to Participation
▩	Detracts from Participation
░	Neither Contributes to nor Detracts from Participation
■	Now Excluded
▧	Categories of Important Factors, Urban Areas
▨	Categories of Important Factors, Rural Areas

1of1

Table 5

Factors of Significant Importance to the Model

STUDY AREAS RVENING FACTORS	Area 13	Riverdale Rossdale Cloverdale	Groat Estate	Beverly	Mill Woods	Belgravia	Norwood McCauley Boyle Street	Oliver	West End	Dickensfield Steele Hts. Londonderry	County of Strathcona	M.D. of Sturgeon	County of Parkland W.	County of Leduc
Past participation in the area.	▧░	▧░	▧░	▧░	▧░	▧░	▧░	▧░	▧░	▧░	░	░	░	░
Presence of organization in the community.	▧░	▧░	▧░	▧░	▧░	▧░	▧░	▧░	▧░	▧░				
Various sectors of community needing recognition.	▧	▧	▧	▧	▧	▧	▧	▧	▧	▧	▩	▩	▩	▩
Agency offering the program.											▨▓	▨▓	▨▓	▨▓
Contacts for organizational meeting.	░	░	░	░	░	░	░	░	░	░	▨░	▨░	▨░	▨░
Their previous knowledge of the program.	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
The organizational meeting itself.											▨	▨	▨	▨
Presence of issues in an area.	▧	▧	▧	▧	▧	▧	▧	▧	▧	▧	▨	▨	▨	▨
Localness of issues.	▧	▧	▧	▧	▧	▧	▧	▧	▧	▧	▨	▨	▨	▨
Using program as a tool.	▧	▧	▧	▧	▧	▧	▧	▧	▧	▧	▨	▨	▨	▨
Terms of reference.	▧	▧	▧	▧	▧	▧	▧	▧	▧	▧	▨	▨	▨	▨
nformation available.	▧	▧	▧	▧	▧	▧	▧	▧	▧	▧	▨	▨	▨	▨
Timing of OPLU in the area.											▓	▓	▓	▓
Selection of meeting locations n study areas.											░	░	░	░
Ability to accept or adapt to program model.														
Flexibility of the program.														
Continuity of people and ideas throughout the program.	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
The amount of work taken on, and the time available to do it.	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
Media and publicity.	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓
Choice of Study Area.														
	Urban Areas										Rural Areas			

ey

▓ Contributes to Participation

▩ Detracts from Participation

░ Neither Contributes to nor Detracts from Participation

■ Now Excluded

▧ Categories of Important Factors, Urban Areas

▨ Categories of Important Factors, Rural Areas

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Factor 18 - The amount of work undertaken and the length of time available.

Second, the effect of cross-classifying the communities to compare the successful and unsuccessful cases, and the urban and rural cases, resulted in a number of factors gaining significance. Where applicable, their ability to contribute to or detract from citizen participation is noted, and their subsequent importance to participation generally is outlined:

Factor 1 - "Past participation in an area" seemed equally important in all tables. It will therefore be included in the theoretical model as a very important factor, but one which cannot guarantee either success or failure in a program.

Factor 2 - "Presence of organization in an area" is definitely an important factor; it is as important in successful as in unsuccessful areas. On the other hand, its importance in urban areas outweighs its importance in rural ones. Even so, it detracted slightly more than it contributed to participation. It is felt here that the presence of organization in a community can be of assistance to a program in which the terms of reference and information on them are obscure, or their relevance cannot immediately be seen by participants. The lack of organization in some rural study areas, where the program was successful supports the antithesis of the above statement; when the terms of reference are clear and topical to the study area, good existing organization in the area is not necessary for a successful program.

Factor 3 - "Various sectors of the community needing recognition" was obscured as an important issue in Table 1. In Table 2, however, it gains significance as a factor which, if not considered, can detract from citizen participation in rural areas.

Factor 4 - Similarly, "Agency offering the program" would not have been considered important at all had it not been for the distinction made in Table 2. It is a factor in 75 per cent of the rural cases and because the agency had a good reputation, it contributed to participation in all cases cited. The lesson to be learned here is the importance of compatability between the agency offering a program and the area it is offered to. This program might have been successful in more urban areas if it was carried out by an agency that could be identified as urban-oriented.

Factor 5 - "Contacts for the organization meeting" was the most noted factor on the list, both for successful and unsuccessful areas (Table 1) and for the urban and rural areas (Table 2). However, as with factor 1, it neither contributes to nor detracts from participation any more in urban than in rural areas. It can be concluded, that good contacts are associated with a high probability of success for a program, and poor contacts, with a low probability.

Factor 7 - "The organizational meeting itself" though mentioned very often, was relatively no more important to successful versus unsuccessful areas or urban versus rural areas than factor 5 was, though it did generally contribute to the success of the program in successful areas and detracted from it in unsuccessful areas. As with the previous factor, a good organizational meeting is felt to be very significant in terms of the success of the whole program in an area.

Factor 13 - "Timing of a program", while fairly significant all through the tables, is more noticeably significant in rural areas (Table 2). The significance of this factor is, of course, a function of the work of rural area participants (i.e., farmers, whose busy periods during the year are dictated by the seasons). As potential participants from urban areas become more involved in leisure time persuits and organized activities at certain times of the year, this factor may become just as important there too (as it did in some cases in the urban study areas).

There is, as well, another element of the timing factor. The concurrence of the timing of the program with the presence of salient issues in the community bodes well for the success of a program, if that program is geared to deal with the types of issues arising. While the OPLU program was not always successful in areas with pressing issues, it did prove that pressing issues generate participation in a program. Where issues and program timing match then, participation is bound to be high.

Factor 14 - "Selection of meeting location" in study areas only achieved importance in Table 2 in rural areas but did not attain significance as a contributor or deterrent to participation. It is, however, important to the extent that the representative mix of participants in rural areas does depend on where a meeting is held. As the representativeness of participants is considered very important , this factor beocmes fairly significant in programs in rural areas.

Factor 16 - "Flexibility of a program" again gained significance in Table 2 in rural areas, but seemed to owe its importance more to the timing of the program in the area than to other factors of flexibility one might consider (e.g., change in the program to achieve a better way of doing things or alter the program because of financing, shortened deadlines, etc.).

Factor 19 - "Media and publicity", while important in successful areas (Table 1), gains its prominence in Table 3 in that it is noted as contributing to participation in six out of the seven times it is mentioned. It also seems a more important factor in rural areas. It may be concluded that good publicity coverage of a program of significance to possible participants will doubtless contribute to successful participation.

Third, there appear to be few blocks of categories of contributory factors in urban areas. There are, however, some in rural areas, as can be seen in Table 3. For example, the "Introduction to the community" and "Issues and information on them" should then be considered as factors to concentrate on for effective participation in rural areas. There are, however, blocks of detracting factors in urban areas (see Table 4). Most noticeably, these are "Issues and information on them" and to a lesser degree, "Community factors". It is felt that the problem with the former lies in the localness of the issues relative to the terms of reference in the OPLU program and the whole host of problems which accumulates from this.

It is suggested here that the factor of "Issues and information on them" be clearly spelled out at the beginning of a program, and if local issues do not conform to the parameters set out, the program should not be pursued. Similarly, the problem with "Commuinity factors" appears to arise from frustration or defeat experienced in urban areas in past participation. The skepticism of the community organization was contagious, and thus made the organization a deterrent to good participaiton in some cases. Only one minor block of factors detracting from participation in relation to the categories in rural areas arose, that of "Factors relating directly to the R.E.D.A. program" which was complicated in the County of Strathcona and the M.D. of Sturgeon by many other factors. It cannot be concluded that the program itself detracted from good participation in these areas.

One last point to be made here is that, in the urban areas, the factors noted were somewhat inconsistent in contributing to or detracting from participation throughout all the categories for any area (see Tables 3 and 4). The rural areas, on the other hand, were clearly divided between those factors that contributed to participation (also the successful areas) and those that detracted throughout all the categories. All that can be gleaned from this latter analysis is that if any one of the categories (say, Introduction of program to community) comprises a contributory block in a rural area, it may fairly safely be assumed that the program will be successful if few other factors arise. Success in a particular category in an urban area, however, spells neither success nor failure overall, but only gives an indication of a category or block of factors, or specific factors within that block, that need to be allowed for in formulating an effective program.

While four factors are noted in Table 5 as important factors to consider in a program,few of these are particularly noted for contributing to or detracting from participation; they are noted merely for their importance in a program. Three of the total of four noted in urban areas and five out of seven in the rural areas are within the first two categories, "Community factors" and "Introduction to the community", leading me to suggest that factors relating to what the community is like, and how it is approached for participation are more important than the issues at stake and the manner in which the program is to be carried out.

Further, category 1 is blocked off as an important area in the analysis for urban areas as is category 2 for rural ones. Within these, the "Community factors" are more important in urban areas than the "Introduction of the program into the community" and vice-versa, the "Introduction in the community" is more important in rural areas that the "Community factors".

From this, it may be suggested that it is difficult to generate participation in an urban area unless the community possesses participation and organizational skills, while in rural areas, these skills are easily formulated with the introduction of each new program in an area.

Category 3, "Issues and information on them", is blocked off in both rural and urban areas as important to participation.

Tables 3 and 4 bear out the contribution of this category in rural areas and the difficulty with it in urban areas. Two conclusions can be drawn here: one is that there is a need for the terms of reference of a program to reflect at least what could be a few of the issues facing an area to be included in a program; the other is that, as noted in several of the experiences from Chapter III, the selection of some issues to be discussed, prior to citizen input , detracts from the efficacy and trust in the program of citizens and should therefore be chosen with great care or at least be considered for inclusion or exclusion in a program by those participating in it.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

The concept of citizen participation has a very checkered background. Not only has the concept changed, as noted in Chapter I, from period to period, from program to program, and from critic to critic, but, as shown in subsequent chapters, the theory on what constitutes effective participation, what are the gauges of effective participation, has suffered from inconsistency in programs, goals and methods.

A discussion of the typologies of citizen participation as a gauge of effectiveness, netted surprising similarities among the lists of possible participation types. These lists proved of some value in assigning appropriate labels to the types of participation engaged in through various programs, and in determining where, on a scale of ever-increasing citizen power in palnning and decision-making, they should be placed. However, their limited value as a gauge of the effectiveness of participation was almost immediately revealed when experience in participation from various countries was documented.

The typologies were set aside in favour of something which emerged as much more important to the success or failure of a program, those situational variables referred to in the thesis as intervening factors. While, initially, it might appear that there are at least as many intervening factors in each area in which a program is carried out as there have been programs tried, the repeated incidence of certain factors allowed me to amalgamate a number of them into a package, which became the basis for a model for effective participation.

Theis model for effective citizen participation is described in Chapter IV and is the focal point of this thesis. It is what I set out to evolve and what I wished to test. Indeed, it needed testing, for it was formulated from a blend of successful and unsuccessful components of other participation programs. If, for instance, one of the factors arising out of a number of unsuccessful programs was the negative reaction by citizens to too late an involvement, this became an important factor to consider in the model. Similarly, if little information was available on the issues being discussed in programs that were considered essentially failures, then this was a prominent factor to consider in formulation of the model. Not to be disparaging, there were successful programs, and factors within these programs, which appeared to contribute to that success often enough to be included in the model as well. What evolved, then, was a model based on prominent factors arising out of successful and unsuccessful participation programs.

The degree to which this model could ensure success was then to be debated. While several factors were noted form each of the programs that was discussed, it is possible that another writer might consider other factors to be equally significant and so construct an altogether different model. A true test of the worth of this model does not come about through its comparison with an equally large number of experiences like those treated in Chapter III, for this might yield even more factors and leave the theory of effective participation in even more uncertainty. Rather, the test comes from the model's application to a large number of programs with essentially the same theme and goals. The only programs discussed in Chapter III which approached this criterion were the MCPs and CAPs. They, however, were carried out under whatever type of program was thought best in the areas that were considered. Without consistency in the use of a model, the theory of citizen participation can never approach the degree of relevance and applicability needed to establish the concept as a sound and useful tool for decision-making.

The validity of this model was thus tested against the work I carried out on behalf of the Alberta Land Use Forum in the City of Edmonton and immediately surrounding counties and municipal districts. This work constituted a test of the model in fourteen areas which was considered an adequate number of repetitions of the program to determine the worth of the model used.

As with any other program, a number of intervening factors arose. Most of these were not significant enough to contest the validity of the model, while others simply affirmed its soundness. Some, however, were strong enough to require changes to the theoretical model, though even these were of a nature that allowed them to be incorporated into the model rather than working any drastic alterations in it.

The results are shown in the reconstructed model in Figure 9. Individual factors will be discussed first and, where many of the factors within a certain category arise, the category itself will be discussed.

The need for flexibility, mentioned so often in the experiences in Chapter III, while very important, has been incorporated as part of the timing factor discussed later on. Flexibility then ceases to be an important factor in programs whose timing in an area is appropriate to the ability of the area residents to participate. Conversely, flexibility became important only when the timing factor was poorly treated.

A second individual factor considered important in Chapter VI is "Media and publicity". Here, however, rather than as a promotional agent for gaining consensus on preferred alternatives as noted in Figure 7, it is touted as a factor that must pervade a whole program. It is therefore noted in Figure 9 as important throughout the program.

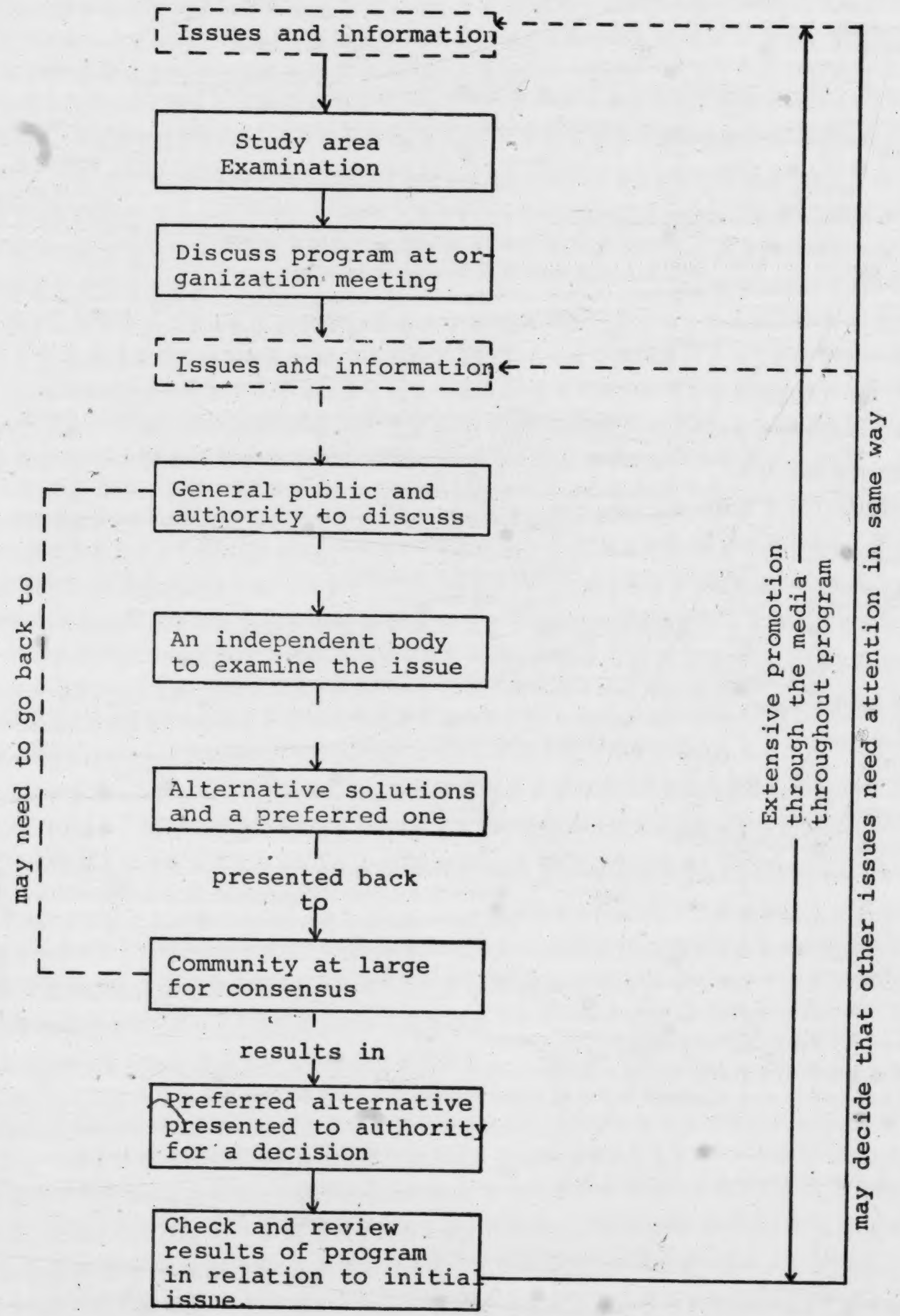
A number of individual factors emerging as important in Chapter VI seem to bear quite heavily on each other for their ability to contribute to effective participation. These are:

- past participation in the area
- presence of organization in the community
- agency offering the program
- timing of OPLU in the area.

While these factors fall within various categories in the tables in Chapter VI, they are rearranged here and are all considered under one heading, "Study area examination". These are factors that bear examination before an agency considers running a program in an area. It constitutes a preliminary evaluation of the area and allows the agency to forecast difficulties before they occur and possibly avert them through changes to the program itself. Its use necessitates a look at the lessons learned through this program. The variation in the usefulness of factors contained under this heading from rural to urban study areas whould be considered. I consider this heading a prerequisite to participation and one that must be included in the theoretical model.

Closely related, though not implicit under this heading, is the category, "Issues and information on them" from the tables in Chapter VI. It is related if the issues under discussion are identified by the agency carrying out

Figure 9 - A Restructured Model


Issues and information
Study area Examination
Discuss program at organization meeting
Issues and information
General public and authority to discuss
An independent body to examine the issue
Alternative solutions and a preferred one
presented back to
Community at large for consensus
results in
Preferred alternative presented to authority for a decision
Check and review results of program in relation to initial issue.
may need to go back to
Extensive promotion through the media throughout program
may decide that other issues need attention in same way

the program prior to the program commencing, or if an issue to be discussed forms the whole basis of carrying out a program. In either case, the issues become a part of the study area examination and questions such as how pertinent the issues are to the area problems and how likely are residents to be interested in participating in discussing these issues should be asked before the program is introduced. One or other of the above situations is more often likely to be the case, so for universality, the issues and information on them will be left in relatively the same positions in the theoretical model as they were in Figure 7.

It is quite conceivable, however, that issues will be left to be identified by participants themselves. In Chapters II and III, it was noted that participation advocates frequently applaud this factor as being in the "true spirit of participation." However, most programs will set certain limits on the issues to be discussed (e.g., land use, social welfare, etc.), so the arena for discussion is never completely open, nor would I want it to be. This latter situation would place the category "Issues and information on them" after the "Study area examination" and the "Discussion of progaram at organization meeting with contacts" (discussed below) and concurrent with the "General public and authority to discuss".

Two other factors that emerged as requiring notations in any theoretical model of participation are "Contacts for organizational meeting" and "The organizational meeting itself". The success associated with good contacts and a good organizational meeting in urban and rural study areas, as noted in Chapter VI, necessitates their inlcusion in the theoretical model. They are both included under one heading and are considered right after the "Study area examination".

Two major changes and one minor one have been made to the theoretical model through the examination of the Land Use Forum's work in and around Edmonton. This is not to say that other factors or groups of factors were not important in this analysis, but that in this case, they were not significant enough to warrant change in the model. Just as a few of the last steps in the model cannot be evaluated because this program was not carried far enough, and consequently fall heir to possible change as other programs utilize this model, so too those steps well documented may change in light of continued analysis and use.

In conclusion, it is felt that the model which has been developed is basically sound and contributes significantly to the theory of effective citizen participation. However, just as I was unable to select a participation type that is best for all cases, so I cannot state that the model assured success in all instances. I can say, however, that based on its application in a number of areas, it is, for the most part, reliable.

Clearly, I have shown how intervening factors can affect the success of a program and how attention to these factors is a prerequisite to effective participation. This is not to say, however, that the importance of intervening factors diminishes the importance of the model as they did the "types of participation" in Chapter III. In fact, these factors only attain significance because of the repeated applications of a prototype model in a number of areas.

I believe I have succeeded in developing a sound and rational base for carrying out citizen participation programs in planning. This base is to be used cautiously, just as every citizen participation program should be. The concept of citizen participation in Canada is still one which lacks deep commitment; inconsistency and inattention to important intervening factors could end in failures that the participation movement can ill-afford.

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Appendix A

Publicity and Information Proposal - April 8, 1974.

Land Use Forum - Publicity, information material and time targets required to facilitate the 'Land Use Public Participation Program'.

Step#1 - Publicize the Forum --- its purpose and the program outline of the Forum, including engaging R.E.D.A.

Format:
- A. Two press conferences.
- B. Follow-up with press releases to all media.
- C. T.V. interview programs (Lethbridge, Medicine Hat, Calgary, Red Deer, Lloydminister, Edmonton).

Time Target: June 10th to 21st, 1974.

Step #2 - 5,000 copies, in printed form, of each of the 9 subject areas contained in the terms of reference of the Forum.

Time Target: June 26th, 1974.

Step #3 - A. 6 sets of 35mm. slides, each set being made up of the following:
- -3 or 4 slides for each of the 9 subject areas contained in the terms of reference of the Forum,
- -6 slides illustrating the Forum,
- -1 slide illustrating the Public Participation Program

(approximately 36 slides per set).

B. 6 sets of charts, each set being made up of the following (30" by 36"):
- -9 charts illustrating information about the 9 subject areas in the terms of reference of the Forum,
- -1 chart illustrating the Forum,
- -1 chart illustrating the steps in the 'Public Participation Program',
- -1 chart giving the address and telephone number of the agency carrying out the 'Public Participation Program',
- -1 chart illustrating the scope of information of the Technical Task Force.

Time Target: June 20th, 1974.

continued....

Appendix contd....

Step #4 - Consider releasing a few teaser statistics via press resease.

Time Target: September 9th to 13th, 1974.
Time Target: October 1st to 4th, 1974.